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JOURNAL

OF A

RESIDENCE IN ASHANTEE.

BY

JOSEPH DUPUIS, ESQ.

LATE

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S ENVOY AND CONSUL FOR THAT KINGDOM.

COMPRISING

NOTES AND RESEARCHES RELATIVE TO THE GOLD COAST,

AND THE

INTERIOR OF WESTERN AFRICA;

CHIEFLY COLLECTED FROM ARABIC MSS.

AND INFORMATION COMMUNICATED BY THE MOSLEMS OF GUINEA:

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

AN ACCOUNT OF THE

ORIGIN AND CAUSES OF THE PRESENT WAR.

ILLUSTRATED WITH A MAP AND PLATES.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HENRY COLBURN,

NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1824.

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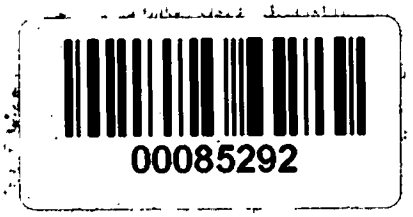

LONDON:

SHACKELL AND ARROWSMITH, JOHNSON'S-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

DEDICATION.

TO

THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

GEORGE THE FOURTH,

&c. &c. &c.

SIRE,

In conformity with the permission which I have received, I now place under the patronage of your Majesty's august name, a volume exhibiting the intimate and political feelings of the Sovereign of Ashantee, demonstrative of a friendly regard, as well towards your Royal person as to the commercial prosperity of the British Colonies on the Gold Coast: the contents of which I stood pledged to make known to your Majesty.

With sentiments of the purest attachment to your Majesty's service, and to the honour and interest of the crown,

I remain,
With the profoundest veneration,
SIRE,
Your Majesty's most faithful Subject,
and dutiful Servant,
JOSEPH DUPUIS.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE British trade with the Gold Coast of Africa was placed by charter, in the reign of Charles II. under the controul of the Royal African Company, whose governor-general (the Govenor of Cape Coast Castle) and council (consisting principally of the commandants of the subordinate forts) had the direction of matters on the African shore, acting, of late years, under instructions sent from England by a body of men chosen for that employ, called the African Committee. This committee was latterly allowed by parliament £30,000 per annum, for the maintenance of their forts in Africa, the protection of the trade, &c. The system was highly injurious to the public, for the trade was only nominally free—in fact it was monopolized by the governor and council themselves, and so much of the public grant as was actually laid out in the maintenance of the forts and establishments, served only to keep the public out of the African market; the application of the remainder it is not difficult to conjecture.

The forts were held at certain rents secured to the native chiefs by notes, which will be more particularly mentioned in the following pages. On the conquest of Fantee by the King of Ashantee, the notes came into his possession, and the rent was paid to him for a

time. He several times ravaged the Fantee and other maritime countries, and the English having interfered to protect the natives, he blockaded Cape Coast itself in 1816, but was induced by presents to withdraw his forces.

In 1817, Mr. John Hope Smith being Governor of Cape Coast Castle, and president, and the council consisting of the Governors of Accra, Tantum, Annamaboe, and Dixcove, the African committee on the suggestion of the council, sent instructions to forward what they termed both an *embassy* and an *exploratory mission* to Coomassy the capital of Ashantee. Mr. Smith furnished a sketch of a treaty to be concluded between the governor and council, and the King of Ashantee. Mr. James was appointed to head the mission, from his rank as senior member of council, and governor of Accra fort, and Messrs. Bowdich, Hutchison, and Tedlie were selected as his associates; the two former gentlemen writers, the last named an assistant-surgeon in the company's employ. At Coomassy Mr. Bowdich, of his own authority, assumed the chief command, superseded his superior officer Mr. James, and concluded with the king the convention which will be found in the appendix, No. 2, where it is inserted from the original in my possession, which differs materially from that published by Mr. Bowdich as the treaty in question.

Such was the state of our relations with Ashantee, when, by the advice of a friend, I forwarded a memorial to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, tendering my services as resident consul in that country.

In due time I received letters * from the Treasury and Downing-

Downing-street, 3*d January*, 1818.

* I have laid before Lord Bathurst your letter of the 26th ult. with its enclosure from Mr. Joseph Dupuis, tendering his services as resident at Coomassy in Africa; and I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, that Lord Bathurst entirely concurs in their recommendation of appointing a consul at Ashantee, and will have much pleasure in submitting to the Prince Regent the name of Mr. Dupuis, as qualified to fill the appointment.

Signed HENRY GOULBURN.

To G. Harrison, Esq.

street, intimating that my offer had been accepted, and ordering me to make the necessary preparations for proceeding to my destination.

It was explained to me, in England, that my appointment originated in an earnest desire on the part of His Majesty's government, to cultivate the existing harmony with the king of Ashantee, and, upon the basis of a mutual confidence, to nurture the seeds of an accidental friendship as an essential preliminary step to the advancement of certain hopeful expectations connected with the manufacturing and commercial interests of Great Britain; whereby government, it would seem, had built upon the probability, through the auspices of the king, not only of enticing all, or the greater part of Ashantee commerce, to the several British settlements on the Gold Coast; but also of inducing that monarch to suffer the traders from the more inland districts to visit the British markets in common with the Ashantees themselves. In elucidation of these sentiments, I beg to refer the reader to the following extracts taken from my instructions.

It must be almost superfluous to point out to you, that the *most* important object to attain, is, to establish mutual confidence; since upon this basis alone can mutual interest be raised. And with this view, it may be good policy to defer the prosecution of any plans for *immediate* profit that may have a tendency to excite the suspicion or jealousy of the natives. For though the promotion of our commercial

The other letter addressed to me was as follows:—

The Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, having been pleased to communicate to Earl Bathurst your letter of the 28th ult. offering your services as resident at Ashantee, I have it in command from their lordships, to transmit for your information a copy of his lordship's answer thereto, in order that you may make the necessary preparations for proceeding to your destination.

Signed GEO. HARRISON.

Treasury Chambers, 14th January, 1818.

See also Commission, Appendix No. I.

relations with the interior is, undoubtedly, a consideration of the *first* importance, yet in a country with which we have had so little intercourse, *that* should be but a secondary object. Your particular care should be to satisfy the minds of the king and his ministers, that our professions of *friendship* and *good-will* are *sincere*, before you allow it to be understood that the intention is to pursue our enquiries, and to extend the trade beyond the boundaries of his dominions.

"The duties of a British consul at Coomassy must necessarily be of a peculiar nature: He must therefore, for a *time*, be *almost wholly* guided by *circumstances* as they *arise*, bearing however always in mind as the general rule of his conduct, his duty and allegiance to his sovereign and country, the *promotion* of the Christian religion, and the interest of British commerce.

"Your acquaintance with the characters of the Moors or Arabs (obtained during your long residence in Barbary,) renders any suggestions for your government, with respect to them, wholly unnecessary; further than it will be deserving of much consideration, how far it may be politic to place confidence in any of those who are resident at Coomassy, by making use of them as interpreters or otherwise, as they *must*, both from their religious principles and self-interest, be rather disposed to *prejudice*, than to promote our interests. You may, however, find them to be less bigoted than self-interested, and by prudent measures may be able to turn their influence with the government very much to the advantage of this country.

"One object most desirable to obtain, as it would essentially assist in the realization of the views of government, might *perhaps* be a grant from the king of Ashantee, of a district, about *twenty-five miles from the coast*, subject to a perpetual annual rent, with full liberty to clear and cultivate the same, and to erect houses, &c. Such a spot, if judiciously chosen, might open an extensive field for the employment of the youth educated at the Company's schools, and be the beginning of a system

which might eventually extend to the cultivation and civilization of the whole coast. You will, therefore, keep this object constantly in view, and seize every favourable opportunity of impressing upon the mind of the king, the signal advantages that would result to the Ashantees as a people, and the immense accession of riches and strength which would be acquired by the sovereign, from the country being brought into such an improved state. It hardly need be observed to you, that this is a matter which will require to be treated with the greatest delicacy, and that no opinion upon it should ever be hazarded by any other person attached to the mission.

"The enclosed are copies of the treaties entered into with the kings of Ashantee and *Dwabin:* upon reference to which, you will see that *they* pledge themselves to continue on terms of friendship with the British. To permit a British officer constantly to reside at Coomassy; to encourage trade with Cape Coast Castle, and its dependencies, and to commit *their* children to the care of the governor in chief (of the Company's establishments) for education at Cape Coast Castle, &c. &c.

"You will be sensible how necessary it is to get geographical information, and therefore you will carefully treasure up every thing you can learn, without showing that you attach any importance to the obtaining of it." &c.

I was detained in England about nine months, reckoning from the date of my appointment; for I did not sail for the coast of Africa until the month of November following. The voyage itself was as favourable as could have been desired: we left the Downs with the wind at north-east, which increasing to a gale, conveyed us to Madeira in six days. After a detention at Funchal short of a week, we finally weighed anchor for Cape Coast Castle. More than this outline, it is presumed, would not afford the reader any real interest.

From January, the month I landed on the Gold Coast, to the following June, my health was unimpaired by the effect of climate, while many sunk under the mortal influence of tropical diseases; yet I courted

rather than shunned exposure to the air by night as well as day.* It was the opinion of my friends that the seven or eight years of "seasoning" I had undergone in Mauritania rendered me less susceptible of danger; but in this sentiment I never could agree with them; and I was the more prejudiced in favour of my own way of reasoning when the periodical rains set in, for I was instantly assailed by a fever, which for severity and duration, was of the most dangerous character. When from this attack I emerged to a state of convalescence, which I did only under symptons of extreme debility after the lapse of nearly two months, I retired from the castle to a little cottage in the "bush," where for six ensuing weeks I gradually improved in health. But the season of fogs, mists, and exhalations succeeding the first fall, as it does upon this parallel of latitude, I again relapsed under the malignant influence of the period. The fever at this time attached itself locally† to the liver, spleen, &c., and although the danger was more remote than heretofore, yet as I laboured long under it, and grew gradually worse, I had no hopes of gaining strength sufficient for my contemplated journey to the interior, unless by a change of air. Thus prepossessed, during the height of the ulterior rains which usually set in in the month of September, I embarked on a cruise in his Majesty's ship Pheasant, commanded by Captain Kelly, an officer every way conspicuous for his gentleman-like conduct.

The rains chased us from the coast to the bight of Benin, whither we were bound, and for five ensuing weeks the strides of death among the crew were considerable. My health continued to be seriously bad, and the cruise becoming irksome, I availed myself of an

* I am satisfied, from the result of my own experience in Africa, that many fall victims to the climate from the adoption of a course of training improperly termed prudential; viz. a *sudden* change of diet, from *ship's fare* to a scanty sustenance of vegetable matter, (rejecting even a moderate proportion of wine) and seclusion in their apartments from the sun and atmosphere. Habits of this kind have, at least, a natural tendency to stagnate the flow of healthy juices, and render the body unfit for exertion. Many there are, however, who fall victims to intemperate habits.

† This is a very common symptom of the progress of disease upon the constitution of Europeans between the tropics.

opportunity that offered to transship myself to the Snapper gun-brig, (commanded by a late lamented friend) then on her passage back to Cape Coast. A tornado which we experienced, and the set of the current together, carried us to our destination in two or three days, and when I set foot again on shore at the close of November, I was little improved in health. The rains, however, had ceased, and in less than a week my disorder wholly subsided. I recovered, seemingly, to the most perfect state of health, and my anxiety to take upon myself the duties for which I was sent out to Africa, was proportionate to the now alarming state of public affairs in relation to our connexions with Ashantee; for this was the period when the king, exasperated to the highest pitch of indignation against the servants of the Company as well as the native population of Cape Coast, demanded satisfaction of both in sums of money equivalent to £12,800., the half of which was, as he termed it, the assessed penalty for a violation of the treaty made by Mr. Bowdich.

During my absence on the cruise, a Mr. Wm. Hutton, a writer in the service of the company, landed at Cape Coast. I had once before accidentally seen him at Gravesend, when, it seems, he contemplated returning to Africa, this I knew at the time I sailed myself, and this was the limit of my knowledge of this gentleman. When I returned from the cruize, he shewed me the respect of a common place visit of congratulation or condolence, (for I had unhappily lost an infant member of my family during my absence) and this was succeeded by a letter, which I received the next day, from my friend Mr. Joseph Dawson, (ex-governor of Cape Coast) a merchant in town of the first class of respectability, both in property and character. It ran as follows:—

"The gentleman I sent to the Castle is Mr. Hutton, whose name you have frequently heard me mention. I now introduce him to you as a particular friend whom I wish well to. He accompanied the expedition of Major Peddy, and is well-seasoned to the climate. I think he would be useful to you, if you go to Aquamassy, (Coomassy), in case

of sickness, for he knows the nature of business here, and can act under your direction. He has begged of me to see you and offer his services voluntarily to go up with you; so I may recommend him to you as a young man who has talent, and for his integrity I will answer," &c.

Pleased with a voluntary tender of service for such duty, as it was a solitary instance of the kind, and gratified with the idea of obliging a friend, I accepted of the offer, although I was already provided with a vice-consul,* a youth inexperienced indeed, but whose qualifications of the heart were of the first distinction.

Mr. Hutton being more competent to take an active part, I employed him on many occasions, and indeed I may not omit my public acknowledgments of his industry and zeal on many early occasions, and which I stamped with my approbation in a memorial submitted to me to obtain my sanction ere I forwarded it to the lords commissioners of the treasury, the result of which procured both him and Mr. Collins the rewards they petitioned for.

During my third illness, a few days antecedent to the journey to Coomassy, I gave Mr. Hutton a temporary power to act for me, mainly because I was apprehensive that measures would be taken to supersede me in my command upon the score of ill health—a step which might be imputed to motives of *humanity*. I therefore authorised Mr. Hutton to proceed to Doonqua, with the presents under his charge. Finding subsequently, however, that the influence of the governor and council still endangered my possession of the charge, and as my indisposition for several days continued obstinate, rather than allow any authority in that country to interfere with the powers which had been granted to me, I increased that which I had granted to Mr. Hutton, authorising him now to jog forward at a gentle pace, if my illness should still increase in severity, to relieve me from the uneasy thoughts arising from the daily and hourly interference of the castle with duties which belonged to me alone.

* Mr. Collins, son of the reverend gentleman of that name, who was sent out by the late Bishop of Chichester.

My recovery, two or three days afterwards, rendered this precaution unnecessary, and I had the satisfaction to assume the command at Doonqua.

Looking back to the period of my arrival in Africa—the month of January, 1819,—I found Mr. Hutchison, who had been left at Coomassy by his coadjutors, Messrs. Bowdich and Tedlie, in quality of resident, upon the coast, having been recalled by Mr. Smith, the governor of Cape Coast Castle, to fill the office of salesman in his warehouse, at that interesting period when the king of Ashantee was occupied with his military preparations for the approaching war with Dinkera, king of Gaman.

During Mr. Hutchison's stay at the court, the king, on various occasions, acknowledged the satisfaction he enjoyed from his connexions with the whites, and particularly the British. The fervor of the king's attachment indeed, had developed itself in many little conciliatory acts, and in tokens genuine or politic of his personal esteem for Messrs. Mollan, Smith, and Hutchison*; nor was the primary consideration forgotten, for that monarch employed every means in his power to promote trade with the British, which for a time flourished, although chiefly, it must be admitted, in the governor's warehouses; for when the tributary sovereigns and caboceers assembled their retainers, preparatory to the meditated invasion of Gaman, they were all directed to procure supplies from Cape Coast, so that, according to the most authentic accounts, Mr. Smith's stock of rum, powder, and cloth, was metamorphosed into gold dust in the lapse of a few days only.

These were benefits conferred by the court alone. In regard to the inferior classes of traders, they, not being bound by the royal restrictions, speculated freely and sought their own markets, either with the officers of the castle, or among the free mer-

* These gentlemen were presented by the king with slaves and gold. Mr. Mollan was governor of Annamaboe, and Vice President of the Council.

chants in town. Thus all participated, more or less, in the temporary influx of commerce; although it was stated by some to have been of no solid advantage, except in bulk, as the business was chiefly transacted by Mr. Smith, and a favoured few. This correspondence is supposed to have received a slight check, from an omission, on the part of Mr. Smith, to acknowledge the king's benefits according to negro courtesy, by reciprocal donations, courtly messages, &c. This neglect, however, made no impression on the political attachment of the king, whose conception of the treaty of 1817 favoured an implicit confidence in the good faith of those who had courted the union; and this belief was encouraged by a persuasion that the smiles of the British government, or rather the British sovereign, irradiated his throne with a refulgence that dazzled the multitude, excited the envy of cotemporary powers, and rendered his political existence more secure from foreign enemies, or the ambitious schemes of the tributaries and nobles of his empire.

Mr. Hutchison's occupation, as warehouseman, was found profitable to his employer, as it attracted a private connexion from Coomassy, who chose that gentleman for their broker in preference to one they did not know. This preference excited much dissatisfaction among the merchants and inferior traders. Without the castle walls the treaty itself was bewailed in serious lamentations, reproachful to its authors, although, in truth, a few of the complainants had no cause to be dissatisfied, unless by comparison with the channel that absorbed so much gold in mass. Be this as it may, the evil, real or imaginary, vibrated in my hearing, shortly after I landed on the coast, and the treaty was unreservedly condemned as the cause of the public grievance. The mission which gave existence to that treaty was represented to have been conceived in mercantile enterprize and intrigue; the expence of which was cast upon the government, while the profit was almost exclusively pocketed by the few leading servants of the African Committee. It was boldly affirmed that the document dignified with

the name of treaty, was in reality a shadow, although not an innoxious one; and although it could deceive no one versed in the tortuous politics of the country, yet it was reasonably calculated to stand the test of criticism in the meridian of London; where the organs of its supporters (who were liable to the same imposition) afforded the only channel from which information could be elicited: that to effect the sinister purposes of a plot deeply laid, a meritorious officer, such as the late Sir James Yeo described Mr. James to be, was recalled with censure, at the instance of his young aspiring associates, the companions of his dangers and fatigues.

The king was at the head of his army on the Gaman frontier at the time I landed, and a battle was shortly expected to take place between the "rival powers," as they were improperly called by the governor. The natives of the town of Cape Coast, elated by reports which some affirmed came from the windward towns, whilst others maintained that they were fabricated in the castle, entertained hopes that the Ashantee monarchy might be annihilated in the approaching conflict. These wishes they were imprudent enough to promulgate, thereby affording the king's friends and his captain resident, who lived in the town, an opportunity to represent the disaffection that prevailed. In due time the court noticed it, and politically restricted the intercourse between the inland and maritime traders, until the termination of the campaign. This restriction, however, is to be understood in a limited sense, for still the sovereign's confidential servants and traders visited the castle, and purchased, as usual, what was wanted for the court or camp.

The Ashantee captain resident had been stationed by the king at Cape Coast, and was considered there as the organ of his government. While the king remained in his capital, the maritime states were cautious of giving offence; but when the southern provinces were no longer overawed by the presence of the monarch on his throne, the natives of Cape Coast, encouraged, it must be admitted, by the

gossips of the castle, thought proper to take a sudden umbrage at the resident, whom they looked upon as a spy or inspector over their actions. Reports were circulated from some unknown source, that the king's army had suffered a defeat of magnitude, and that Dinkera was pushing over the Tando river with intent to repay the hostile visit of the king. The resident protested against the falsity of the account, as did the chiefs of Elmina town, but the interest they took in the business was supposed to proceed from other motives than those sincerity might inspire.

Traders now but rarely visited the settlements; and when they did come, it was found impracticable to elicit from them what alone would have passed current for authentic information, namely, an admission that the king had been defeated!

At this crisis two royal messengers came to Cape Coast to vent a complaint against the conduct of the people of Commenda, whither they had been sent by their sovereign to convey a *jaw-bone* or two, as trophies of the success of the Ashantee arms. They claimed the protection of the British, by virtue of the treaty. It was confirmed beyond disputation that these messengers had been used with some violence, and turned out of the town in contemptuous defiance and ridicule. At Cape Coast they were secure from molestation, but could get no redress; for Mr. Smith, without the aid of the council, and without regard to my particular interest and responsibility in the concerns of Ashantee, refused to administer justice between the parties until, after the lapse of many months, the threat of hostility became so alarming to the interests of the settlements, that the council assumed the power of acting independently of the views entertained by its president, and determined to forward the mission.

As far as policy may be allowed to palliate those errors of administration, which are connected with a violation of public and private faith, so far only it was justifiable to abjure this treaty of Mr. Bowdich. Let it be assumed that the early reports of the king's defeat were

actually credited in the castle to the extent that the military power of Ashantee had been vitally shaken in the conflict with its western enemies, still it was the honour of England, and, as it was imagined by the king, the faith of her monarch, which had been pledged to him in the treaty of 1817, upon what authority I leave to the judgment of the reader.

I believe, upon no slight grounds, that my consular appointment to the court mainly contributed to inspire Mr. Bowdich's uncle with the temerity to induce a rupture with the king; for in opposition to my solicitations, that my arrival in the country should be communicated at the capital by a public messenger, it was explained to me that the time was not suitable, and I must wait until after the rains, as it would be dangerous to travel before I was seasoned to the climate. Many whisperings were circulated in augmentation of the difficulties, and my hopes, although buoyed up in favourable expectancy, did not wholly subdue my fears of disappointment; for the impracticability of visiting the metropolis became a common topic of conversation, and every discouraging prognostication was echoed about without reserve, but certainly not without a motive. The sentiments of the parties in town united in a rooted belief that every measure short of *actual hostility* would be resorted to, to prevent the execution of those plans which were contemplated in my appointment; and that Mr. Smith was, moreover, personally interested in suppressing my visit to court, from the feelings he had for his nephew, whose exaggerated representations of the opulence and grandeur of the Ashantee monarchy, he was no stranger to. Doubtful as the sequel might prove, my hopes and fears alternately fluctuated as I anxiously looked forward for the king's return to his capital, upon which I was now inclined to concentrate all my expectations.

The Captain resident, who was a young athletic man, was taken suddenly ill in the month of March, while this misunderstanding existed, and his death speedily ensued, not without a strong suspicion

of poison, which, it was whispered, had been administered by a slave of the caboceer Aggry, a man who received pay from the company, and who was upheld as a superior chief, and dignified with the title of King of the town. Whether this was true or not I cannot affirm; but no successor was ever appointed to the vacant situation, and yet it was more than ever incumbent on the government to watch the idle rumours that gave so much uneasiness to the king.

In the same month a silly tale was circulated at Cape Coast that a most decisive battle had been fought between the belligerents; that the king of Ashantee had fallen in the conflict, that his army was scattered over the face of the country, and that his enemies, headed by the victorious Dinkera, were within a few days' march of Coomassy, where the advanced guard had already arrived. Yet no clue could be discovered for tracing this rumour to a source that might imprint upon it a semblance of authenticity: notwithstanding which it was seemingly credited implicitly by Mr. Smith, who assured me *he had no doubt of its truth:* hence the same opinion predominated throughout the town, as well as in the castle. I know no reason why it should have taken so deep a root, except that it was what chimed with the anxious wishes of the natives, and, as it would seem, co-operated with the views of some of the superior authorities in the castle.

As my hopes and fears now centred in the truth or falsehood of the statement, I hired a canoe and went to El Mina with a letter of introduction to His Excellency the late Governor Oldenburgh, by whom I was assured that there was not a word in the report deserving of credit, although he doubted not there had been a general engagement. The Ashantee traders who were in the town, amounting to near one hundred, including their slaves, laughed outright at the tale, which they treated as a malicious libel that would be attended with evil consequences in the sequel. It was added, moreover, that these artful reports were coined at Cape Coast exclusively, for every other town knew them to be false; and even the people of Commenda were then

sensible that they had been betrayed into their late excesses by the influence of Cape Coast.

Towards the end of March, a messenger, bearing the gold-hilted sword, came to the castle from the camp, stating that he had been deputed by his sovereign to acquaint the governor that an outrage had been committed at Commenda upon two men of office, who had represented to him their inability to procure redress; but that the king expected, upon the faith of the treaty, and the friendship that existed between them, that justice would be done. However, if the governor declined taking that trouble, he should send some troops for that purpose.

The king, it was added, had also heard with anger and regret, that the natives of Cape Coast were not disposed to be friends; that they talked foolish things, as if they wanted him to come down again to the water side; but he trusted the governor would look to it for him, because he was then engaged in war.

This was substantially the message which was laid hold of as a palliative argument for having bidden defiance to the king in language which that monarch deemed insulting, and a farewell adieu to the treaty of Mr. Bowdich: for Mr. Smith, without listening to the main argument, or attending to the justice of the king's complaint, interrupted the man, by desiring him to return to his master and acquaint him that he might come down "in forty days, or in twenty, or as soon as he thought proper."

This messenger, whose name was Accra Dehe, lingered about the town for some time, and vainly intimated that he durst not carry such a message back: that it would be an insult to the king, and perhaps cost him his head. But at length he was compelled to depart.

In order to elucidate these rash councils, so abruptly resorted to, without the concurrence of any other individual associated in the commission for the administration of public affairs; it is requisite to say something of a finesse that was employed to give sanction to

hostility at such a crisis, when so many interests and expectations were thrown away. Will it be credited that the message itself was perverted, through the medium of the interpreter; who was instructed so to do, that a plausible opportunity might be afforded for breaking off the friendly connexion that existed with Ashantee? This was roundly asserted by many who were not known as friends to the king, and who freely declared that De Graaf, the castle linguist, interpreted the king's message to the governor with exaggerations, and even falsehood, in the course of which he said (or as it was suspected was urged to say), "The king would certainly come down to Cape Coast in forty days and *punish those who had abused him.*" In order to obtain, as it were, a tacit sanction, Mr. Smith invited me to meet the messenger in the hall, in company with captain Kelly of H. M. S. Pheasant. We caught the words as they fell from the lips of De Graaf, and I confess, for my own part, the colouring was so artfully contrived, that I saw no other alternative than waiting patiently where I was. Indeed, for some time after, I was a dupe to the prejudice that the king actually designed war; notwithstanding that Accra Dehe, before he quitted the Cape, declared that De Graaf had perverted the king's message.*

The elders and chiefs of the town were then privately instructed to arm their people, and defend themselves in case of necessity. A wall of circumvallation, extending across the hills, and entrenching the town and castle, was hastily erected with mud and swish, loop-holed for defensive warfare, as if it were actually believed that the Ashantees would come down; and if so, that the people would find security behind these frail bulwarks, against an enemy so terrible to their remembrances.

Accra Dehe returned to the camp, and, as I learned at Coomassy,

* The king denied the message to me, in terms the most positive and convincing, and alleged that he had punished Accra Dehe in the first of his anger, wrongfully; for De Graaf was the man who, he believed, had perverted his words. Mr. Smith, however, understood the native language!!!

truly reported what had occurred, together with his own suspicions regarding the imposition. The king, however, was enraged to a great degree of anger against his officer, whom he accused of falsehood, put him to the torture of the bastonade to extort confession, and finally threw him into prison with the intention of putting him to a cruel death, in case he discovered equivocation or deceit.

In the meantime the farce was conducted at Cape Coast, with every ostensible show of promptitude, although in reality it all ended in the erection of the wall; for Aggry, who had boasted of his ability to procure five thousand auxiliaries from the bush (country), found it impossible to obtain a single man: every town and every village, being either overawed by a dread of the vengeance of Ashantee, or in strict alliance with that powerful nation.

These reports, reaching the capital, annihilated what little remained of the trade, at a single blow; the traders either not caring to trust themselves and their property at Cape Coast, or being laid under prohibitions, which restricted the intercourse to El Mina, and the windward settlements, where, for twelve months after, they deposited their gold and merchandize. The Dutch, consequently, enjoyed all those benefits which the treaty was supposed to have conferred upon the British, who in truth were indebted to the agency of their European brethren in the few commercial transactions they had with the Ashantees; and these contracts were sometimes attended with loss upon the property, varying from twenty to thirty per cent. (without including interest of money and risk of payment) which fell to the share of the Dutch as the intermediate parties.

The prospect of surmounting those obstacles which impeded my visit to the court, was now but a faint one at best, and only to be discerned through a cloud of trouble and vexation. By this time I was sufficiently initiated in the sinister mysteries of African politics to know that, although I might ultimately succeed in my endeavours to reach the metropolis, yet it would not be until every hostile feeling

had been roused into action, thereby to give full employment to my time, and excite general distrust and suspicion. These sentiments imperceptibly stole in upon my secret thoughts, harassing my mind with tantalizing reflections; nor were any of my friends able to console me at this time with a solitary hope of what I so ardently desired. But one opinion existed, and anxious as the majority were for my success, they did not hesitate to suggest to me the propriety of returning to England, there to submit a just statement of the obstacles I had to encounter.

This advice, it is almost needless to say, did not accord with my own sentiments. Limited as my hopes were, I still enjoyed the mental satisfaction of knowing that things were at least in a train to be brought to issue, however unfavourable that issue might prove; and I had previously resolved to abide the test, before I sought new instructions or resigned my commission.

The rains set in with more than usual violence before the close of April, and although I had hitherto enjoyed as good health as in England or Barbary, I was early attacked with fever, which for six weeks held me in suspense between life and death, nor did I recover without symptoms of extreme debility, increased by the nature of the climate and the anxiety which preyed continually upon my mind.

Another messenger came down in June, desiring, in the name of the king, simply to know whether Accra Dehe had deceived him, or whether Mr. Smith had actually sent him up a defiance.

I was too ill at this period to attend the hall, but I learned afterwards that the reply retorted the charge of defiance upon the king or his messenger, for having first used the language of threat.

Whilst all this was transacting, news reached the Ashantee army that Cape Coast had been entrenched with a wall, and that the town's-people were in arms against the king's authority (for this, indeed, was a truth too palpable for concealment). When it was reported to the king, at Houraboh in Gaman, as that monarch told me himself, his

captains simultaneously unsheathed their sabres and solicited him to allow a detachment of troops to march down to the coast. "We will kill them," said the captains, "or bring them before you, for this insult is insufferable." However, enraged as the king was, he suppressed his feelings, telling his captains that he held a "book" with the white men, and could not acquiesce in the general wish, but that he would nevertheless swear to seek satisfaction, for he believed the governor was imposed upon.

Notwithstanding the royal messengers continued coming to and fro, between the camp and the castle, the report of the king's death did lose ground. In the castle the most favourable supposition supported an opinion that the Ashantees had sustained a defeat of such magnitude as to have produced the election of another king, who, from state policy, negotiated in the name of his predecessor. Some were bold enough to affirm that Ashantee no longer existed, but as a department of the Gaman empire, and was then governed by a son of Dinkera.

In conformity with the king's promise to his army, another messenger, of high rank, and with a large retinue, made his entry in September. I was at this time sufficiently recovered from a second attack of illness to attend the interview. The man, in an able speech, recapitulated all those grievances of which his master complained, beginning at the Commenda "palaver," and ending with the fortification or line of defence. The mutinous conduct of the people was touched upon with *delicacy*, yet the odium was cast upon Mr. Smith, who was indirectly accused of having *invited* them to *insubordination*, on a belief that the king had been defeated by his enemies. In conclusion, the messenger declared, in the name of his master, that the treaty was of no use if *insincerity* was attached to British councils;—that the king looked upon that treaty as "Fetische," (sacred) and therefore had sent it down to the castle, in order that Mr. Smith should read its *contents*, and determine whether or no he was bound to give satisfaction for the injuries that had been done: and moreover, if it should be

answered negatively, that gentleman was desired to retain possession of the treaty, in order that the king might apply to his own resources without scruple, as it was contrary to his principles, or his notions of honour and good faith, to keep that deed in his hands and make war; or, as it was more figuratively described to me at Coomassy by Apoko, to march against the town with the musquet in hand and the "book" in the box.

As this was uttered, the messenger drew from under his garment a little morocco trunk, out of which he took the treaty, and presented it to Mr. Smith, who evinced something like perturbation or confusion, as he declared "he had nothing to do with it." The linguist, De Graaf, interposed a whisper, and it was then read over as far as the fourth article,* when the messenger again rose and demanded satisfaction in the name of his sovereign, upon the faith of that article, which, if not complied with, he affirmed, would call down the vengeance of Ashantee upon the natives of the town. In respect to the Castle, he added, the king did not wish for war with white men, but his own people must be obedient; he would not, however, hold the book or treaty if he made war.

The hall now resounded with vociferous arguments from the partisans of Ashantee and others connected with the messenger's suite. Some of the town chiefs, awakened at last from the stupefaction of idle dreams, joined earnestly in the debate, hoping, as it appeared, to mitigate the wrath of the monarch, or exonerate themselves from censure, by declaring that as they were under the government of the whites, they could not help what had been done. In fact the audience for a time resembled the upper gallery of a playhouse between the acts, so general was the confusion; when order was restored, the messenger

* The fourth article was as follows:—"In order to avert the horrors of war, it is agreed, that in any case of aggression on the part of the natives under British protection, the king shall complain thereof to the Governor-in-chief, to obtain redress, and that he will in no case resort to hostility, without endeavouring as much as possible to effect an amicable arrangement."

desired he might hear more of the treaty, which Mr. Smith read, as far as the seventh article, where he was interrupted, a second time, by a demand of satisfaction upon the faith of it.* Nor would he listen to the palliative arguments which were obtruded by Aggry and a chief of the name of Binie. He declared that his orders were peremptory and his duty imperative; and, therefore, he should leave the treaty in the castle, unless Mr. Smith would promise to do the king justice.

At this juncture I requested the governor would make known to the messenger the object of my mission, and the desire I had to see the king; for, incredible as it may appear, that monarch was in total ignorance of any thing concerning me, unless from report. My request was complied with. The messenger again rose, bowed to me, and took me by the hand in token of respect and good will. This circumstance appeared to stagger the resolution he had formed; and he was, for some time pensive and doubtful, as if he knew not what course to pursue; his inflexibility, however, was overcome, as he testified by enquiring whether he was to leave the treaty, or whether I would talk the palaver with the king. The reply was, that he must be guided by his own discretion, and accordingly he retired with the treaty to his quarters in town.

The town chiefs and their retainers were now, for the first time, warned of the danger they had incurred in giving an unbridled licence to their tongues.† Indeed the advice was scarcely needful at

* This article was worded as follows:—"The governors of the respective forts shall at all times afford every protection in their power to the persons and property of the people of Ashantee, who may resort to the water-side."

† Yes, it is a notorious fact, that the people were first encouraged to resort to arms, then censured for having done so. My confidence, during the erection of the wall of circumvallation, was rooted implicitly in the honor and integrity of Mr. Smith; and so I described my sentiments in my public letters to England. So much did I deludedly conceive myself a partisan in the policy he had adopted, that I daily visited the progressive advancement of the works of defence, and often in his society, although I knew, at the same time, they were calculated to ruin my best hopes. But these, while I felt their force, I set in no sort of competition with what I imagined to be a national cause,—the insult offered to the flag of my sovereign, and the indignity offered to a man whom I looked upon as a friend.

this time, for their minds were riveted upon the impending peril, and the scenes of former years were revived in imagination, as they contemplated the daring spirit of their enemies, and the power of the king. In the town, tranquillity predominated for a time, among all orders of men; not a whisper, or the rumour of one, was to be heard prejudicial to the character or interests of the offended monarch, and the reports of a Gaman invasion were now woefully discredited or silenced. Yet, in the castle, the same idle speculations were indulged in, but whether their propagators actually believed in such trash, although they affirmed it, is very doubtful.

Mr. Smith was, it seems, still of opinion that the Ashantees had been totally defeated, and accounts were again written to England to this effect, but in order somewhat to qualify the tone of his former sentiments, he affected to imagine that the government had recovered the blow, still however doubting that the same monarch ruled the empire.

Trade was entirely at a stand, for the Ashantees had long since deserted the Cape. The Dutch settlements, particularly El Mina town and castle, were stored with the inland merchants; and British commodities gained vent through that channel alone, whilst the Dutch, as heretofore, continued to reap all the advantage.

The messenger, whose hesitation proceeded from doubts connected with the importance of my mission, and my rank as coming from England direct to the king, came to the resolution of remaining on the spot until he should be furnished with other instructions from the king.

During the suspense, I was again so severely attacked with fever, that by the advice of my medical attendant I was prevailed upon to take a cruize in the Gulf, and accordingly I embarked on board His Majesty's ship Pheasant. The rains were still excessive, sickness tracked our flight, and mortality made some havock among the officers and crew. At the expiration of five weeks (it being then

November) my health having improved, I returned to the coast in the Snapper gun-brig. For some time after I enjoyed indifferent good health, under a tardy convalescence.

The season of health and re-animation was, however, now in rapid advance, and I believe the revived prospect of visiting the capital contributed more than any thing else to my recovery.

Public affairs were precisely on the same footing as when I left the Cape. The same messenger was still in town, but it was reported that a man of high rank was coming down to the coast in quality of ambassador; with a train of armed followers.

The town's-people were more than ever sensible of their folly, and a few vented their murmurs against the whites, under the impression that they had encouraged them to resist a power which they could not unitedly contend against. The wall of defence was, therefore, suffered to moulder away in neglect, notwithstanding Mr. Smith continued still to give it as a sort of private opinion, that both policy and necessity required our entering upon defensive warfare at least, and offensive as regarded the protection of the town, if needful, from the ravages threatened by the Ashantees. The impossibility of affording thereby, protection to the lives and property of the people, formed no part of the argument.

Many were the anxious hopes and fears in circulation, and no one could form even a conjecture as regarded the future. On the one hand it was feared that the accumulated provocations would weigh heavily in the scale of Ashantee politics, and perhaps influence the king to carry fire and sword through the town; for it was no secret that an enemy so powerful as the sovereign of Ashantee might perform this with comparative ease, and without incurring any particular hazard even from the fire of the castle guns, should that course of proceeding be resorted to. On the other hand it was admitted, that although the king was exceedingly exasperated, yet he would be influenced to listen to any reasonable terms, provided they were associated with the

ong agitated mission. In one point of view there was an unity of sentiment outside of the castle, namely, that any attempt at negotiation short of my visit to court, would be fruitless.

This was the time when advices were expected from the committee, and many sanguine hopes of relief were centred in that quarter. But when the dispatches arrived, they were found to contain nothing important as regarded the political aspect of affairs in Africa. The information, in substance, was a reiteration of former strictures upon the conduct of Messrs. Mollan, Smith, and Adamson *, on the score of exorbitant charges in their accounts; but more particularly as they concerned the pecuniary affairs of the two former gentlemen; and the threat of recall or dismissal was again fulminated at them with revived censure, in consequence of their having defended their accounts with scornful acrimony. Under these circumstances I was confirmed in the opinion that the committee themselves had been misled by the interested reports of their servants in regard to the affairs of Ashantee.

Mr. Smith now unequivocally gave it as his opinion, without however specifying reasons, that to forward the mission would be the "height of imprudence and madness." †

Again, therefore, my hopes were blighted, and no other consolation presented itself than the anticipation of the interview with the ambassador, whose arrival was looked for within the month, and to whom report gave the credit of extensive, if not ample powers. Indeed it was affirmed that this great captain had been dignified by

* Mr. Adamson was governor of Tantum.

† These are his own words, extracted from letters which he wrote to me on the subject, and which I have still in my possession. It was clear to me, that either pride, and the anxiety of preserving a reputation for consistency, predominated over every other feeling, whether as regarded his own interests or those of the public; or that he was inflexibly bent upon the original maxim of risking every thing rather than promote a mission whose tendency he seemed to think inimical to his own and his nephew's interests and reputations.

his sovereign, with a commission that qualified him to decide for peace or war upon the spot, and to act accordingly.

From this period, then, I no longer looked upon the councils of the Cape (that term will imply the individual acts of Mr. Smith) but as a barrier, or a chain of mountains on the march: and I availed myself of an opportunity that offered, to make known to Lord Bathurst, in the fullest extent, my situation and the predicament in which I was so accidentally placed.

Another month elapsed, and still every measure of policy was contemplated in secret hostility, whilst a semblance of inflexibility, devoid however of the dignity of resolution, or the generosity of fellowship and good faith in politics, tended to support the natives in a belief that their "palaver" with the king was of consideration sufficient to warrant unqualified hostility on the part of the castle. Certainly the town had been made the dupe of this conceit at an earlier stage of the quarrel, and doubtless it inspired them with that symptom of courage, or folly, from whence emanated many offences which, unhappily for themselves, called down upon their heads the vengeance of the sovereign, and that not a slight one; for already I was sufficiently informed to know that the united power of the British and *all* Fantee besides in the field, was inadequate to contend against that of the king, who, if he chose it, might destroy the town of Cape Coast without risking the loss of a man from our fire; and if he knew how to attack the castle itself, it was not defensible. But the original infatuation was nearly at an end, and perhaps had wholly subsided; for the people, as if sensible last that they had overstepped the boundary of prudence, were armed with caution: they were now seriously alarmed, and their efforts of courage were paralyzed in embryo; they therefore endeavoured to screen themselves under a semblance of neutrality, as if they were either unconcerned in the differences now existing between the king and Mr. Smith, or as if the British government would rescue them from

their perils by negotiation or force of arms: and that too without employing any efforts on their own parts. Indeed they had buoyed themselves up with the hopes of a *white* army coming to their relief.

The year was fast approaching to a close: I had already been held in this state of anxiety and suspense upwards of eleven months, and for ten of those weary months, or thereabouts, I had supported my lot with as much fortitude and resolution as I could.

The messenger, whose approach had been so long the theme of conversation, was now announced to be on his journey to the Coast, and at no great distance. Various reports gained credit, also, that a large body of troops would be quartered upon the town, until the negotiation should determine between peace or war.

In this interval of suspense, Mr. Swanzy arrived upon the coast, bringing under his charge despatches from the Committee, which warranted his hopes of assuming to himself the direction of public affairs in place of Mr. Smith, upon whom, together with his coadjutors, Mollan and Adamson, a final act of censure was registered, on the score of unjustifiable charges in the public accounts, and insolence in their vindication.

Mr. Swanzy had the candour to admit that obstinacy and private resentment alone had reduced the settlements to a situation so truly alarming.

Hitherto, novel as it may seem in the system of government, no council had ever been assembled for taking the sense of that body upon the subject of Ashantee, as it has already been related. But now Mr. Swanzy, in virtue of his own powers, took an active part in public, compelling Messrs. Smith and Mollan to curtail their charges by a reduction of some hundreds of pounds, and to recant certain injurious expressions which they had applied to the committee.

Mr. Smith still adhered to his sentiments of defying the power of the king; Mr. Mollan, with that obmutescence for which he is remarkable, gave no opinion at all, and Mr. Swanzy, who it will be remem-

bered, had a political game to play more intimately associated with his private interests, avoided saying more at this time than what might be qualified affirmatively or negatively.

This semblance of re-animation, however, once more removed the cloud of despondency that covered the minds of many of the chiefs in town, and it was now imagined that Mr. Swanzy had ability and inclination sufficient to avert the threatened calamities. That his inclinations would suggest pacific measures, no one could reasonably doubt, as his mercantile hopes naturally beat in unison with the feelings of those who had been such long sufferers.

Again at the close of the month of December, I paid another visit to his excellency governor Oldenburg. Trade was still brisk at El Mina, and the Dutch were still profitting by our own evil policy. The Ashantees, I had the mortification to learn, spoke in very loose terms of British faith, nor did they seem to think that we were over-burthened with common sense. The information I derived from the governor gave me to understand, most unequivocally, that, instead of having suffered reverses, the king had been completely successful in the Gaman campaign, and that there no longer existed a doubt of the death of Dinkera, and the final submission of his subjects to the conqueror's yoke.

During my stay under the hospitable roof of this worthy governor, I received information from Cape Coast that the long looked for ambassador had arrived at Doonqua, and would shortly reach the place of his destination. Thus informed, I returned to the Cape without loss of time, where I found the popular rumours to be again very unfavourable. The anxiety of all classes was extreme, from a presentiment of hostility; for the ambassador's train, according to report, was *an army*, and his demands upon the castle and the town were stated to be exorbitant.

From this period it was a sort of breathless suspense for a day or two, until the advanced guard, as it was termed, was seen traversing the beach.

The ambassador entered the place with a degree of military splendour unknown there since the conquest of Fantee by the king, and according to prevailing courtesy, the town chiefs, headed by Aggry, were drawn up to receive their unwelcome visitors.

Let the imagination trace the routine of etiquette, and let it be believed, as there is no doubt of the fact, that the number of people in the ambassador's train, at the lowest estimate, was about twelve hundred, of whom about half were either Ashantees or Assins (some of them women and boys) and the remaining half Fantees of Doonqua and Mouree, joined by some El Mina people, who all professed allegiance in common to the king.

The ambassador, who was a man apparently between the ages of thirty and thirty-five, stood in the relationship of nephew to the king: it will be unnecessary, therefore, to say more of his rank and influence at court.

On the day of audience, he delivered a speech in the Hall, which De Graaf interpreted briefly as follows:—

"The king says, you (the governor) sent white men to Coomassy, and they told him it was because the whites wished for peace and a good trade; on hearing which he rejoiced to think that he should gratify the great king and his captains. These white men saw the king's face, and they knew he was a good king and wished well to the governor and white men who lived in the country; therefore they made a treaty of strict friendship. Then the king sent down all the trade to the governor, thinking he loved him as a true friend.

"The king was afterwards obliged to make war against Dinkera, who had defied him, and refused to pay him gold as before. He ordered his captains to bring all the people together, and clean the

guns. And when the white man,* who lived with him heard that, he said, now I must go back to the water side; and the king, considering that to be right, let him go.

"The trade went down as before, and the king was happy, because he thought, as the white men were friends, they would not allow Fantees to do foolish things and shame him before his captains.

"When the messengers went to Commenda, it was because he loved the people; he, therefore, sent a jaw-bone† of Dinkera's captain, that they might know the king's enemies were dead, and rejoice at it. Now the governor knows that these messengers were robbed and beaten, and the people laughed at the king; therefore, the messengers went to complain to the governor of Cape Coast, but he would not hear them.

"When the king heard that he was much grieved, and he sent Accra Dehe to make his compliments and tell the governor to examine that affair, and do what was right. When Accra Dehe returned to the camp, and told the king that the governor did not care for him, and said that he might come down in twenty days, it broke his heart, because it shamed him before his captains, and all the kings and great caboceers who fought for him. He could not think the governor would use him in that manner, because he never sent an offensive

* Mr. Hutchison.

† I think I have observed, elsewhere, that this description of present is deemed courteous and highly complimentary by the negroes, particularly when conferred by a chief or crowned head. This character, however, was attempted to be disputed when the palaver had gained its greatest ascendancy, and not before, for no other reason that I know of than that government and the committee would readily credit the belief that it might be interpreted into threatened hostility and insult. Let us put the question fairly to the issue, by referring to what Bosman relates of the war between "the Commanians" (Commenda itself) and the natives of Saboe, Acany, and Cabes Terra, page 33:—

"Notwithstanding we (the garrison of Elmina castle) had been hitherto perfectly neuter, the negro-general sent a civil message to our governor, with several sculls of his vanquished enemies, in token *that he had resolved to live and die in the service of the Hollanders; his message was civilly received, and after thanks and presents to the general, dismissed.*"

message to the castle. The king then punished the messenger, but the captains said it was wrong, and that the people of Cape Coast were insolent; and they took their swords to march against the Fantees. But the king forbade them, saying he must do what was right according to the book, and he should have satisfaction. Then the king sent more messengers to the governor; but they tell him the governor will not give satisfaction according to the book, and the captains believe that it was true he sent a defiance, saying if the king chose to come and fight he was ready. Then the king called all the chiefs and the old men together, and told them the truth; and they said, 'This dishonours you, king; we cannot hear this and sit upon our stools, for the people will laugh at you and us; it is a very bad thing: you must have satisfaction.' Then the king sent down another messenger and gave him the book, that the governor might see what was true with his own eyes; and say whether he wanted peace or war. But still the governor refuses satisfaction; and yet he says the book is right.

"The king is sorry for the sake of the old men, and women, and children, but then he cannot help it, if the govenor will have war; the king has nothing to do with white men; but if they choose to make palavers with him, it is not his fault. He knows that they come to trade in his country, and they have a great king of their own in the land of the white men. This is all true; but then the king (of Ashantee) is a great king too, for all the black countries, and the people must serve him; and if they will not serve him, but are foolish, and do evil, they must die. Now the governor knows that Cape Coast is very insolent, and when the king complained to the castle, the people were told to build a wall and fight him. Is that like good friends, as the book says? The other towns of Fantee do what is right, and the king has no palaver with them, and he is unwilling to make war for one town only. And now he sends to the governor to ask, if he will settle that palaver or not? because, otherwise, the army will certainly go down and destroy the place; for it is a great palaver, and

the king and all his captains are very angry, because they believe that Aggry and De Graaf cheat them, and tell the governor lies; therefore, the king says they had better look to it, and take care what they do, for he is not a king to play the fool with."

Here the ambassador paused, or was interrupted by Aggry, De Graaf, and others, who felt interested in the censure. Some confusion ensued, and when order was again restored, the linguist declared that there was something more important "*in the budget.*" This was signified to the ambassador, and he proceeded to say, that in consequence of the provocation that had been given to the king by the town of Cape Coast, he, as ambassador, was authorized to demand from the inhabitants a fine of * 1600 ounces of gold. And as regarded the conduct of the governor, he was desired to make the same demand of 1600 ounces from him—making collectively 3200 ounces, and unless these payments were complied with, he was instructed to say the king would grant no peace; nor would he desist until he had taken ample satisfaction.

Confusion and discord again predominated, every tongue was put in motion, coupled with such gesticulation and contortion of the muscles as a subject of that interest may be supposed to have created. The anxiety of the town chiefs was extreme in proportion to their fears.

It was some time before the tumult subsided, and in the interval Mr. Smith collected the sentiments of Mr. Swanzy and myself.† It is perhaps needless to say they were in unison upon the item relating to the king's demand made upon a British castle or a British governor, and it was resolved unanimously to reject the terms with indignation, unless that clause was rescinded which concerned the governor publicly, for in no other character could I know him in a transaction which involved

* Equivalent to £6,400 currency, the two demands making £12,800 together.

† This was the only compliment of the kind that gentleman ever voluntarily offered to my political opinion, my rank, or interests, in the affairs of Ashantee.

the national dignity. This resolution being announced to the ambassador, it was then, somewhat qualified by an offer to negotiate, upon terms of equity, the *differences that existed between the king and the natives of the town.* To this amendment Mr. Smith did not object at the time; but subsequently he endeavoured still to give the colouring of consistency to what he termed his former policy, by declaring his conviction that no good could be done by temporizing measures, even at so critical a juncture.

Here then I will say, (and in truth it deserves recording as a solitary instance of the kind) the councils of the Cape exhibited a moderate share of dignity and temper, however late and unseasonable. Had this moderation been adopted earlier, all differences would have been adjusted many months sooner: in fact, they never would have had existence to any serious extent.

The ambassador, in reply to our proposition that he should renounce the demand made upon the governor, declared it was impossible for him to abrogate what the king had decreed; upon which Mr. Smith retired from a debate which was at first partially, and then exclusively engrossed by the town chiefs. These men admitted, in a qualified sense, that they were bound to the sovereign of Ashantee in bonds of *fealty* and *allegiance*; and when taxed by the ambassador with insubordination and insolence, in having built up the wall, &c., they claimed certain privileges from local situation within the precinct of a British fort, which they affirmed had been stipulated for by the treaty of Mr. Bowdich. Some exonerated themselves at the expence of their protectors, by attributing every thing that had been done to the orders of the governor, whose authority, they said, they were bound to respect.

In conclusion, it was stated they could not attempt to negotiate even on their own accounts, while the king demanded money of the castle, but if that edict were repealed they would pay what they were able. Here the audience broke up in dissatisfaction. This was the 7th of January.

Having on a former occasion had reason to doubt the veracity* of the linguist's interpretation, I took the precaution, this time, to station a linguist of my own choosing in the hall, and this man assured me that the king's speech did not exactly tally with what he had just heard from the lips of the public interpreter, who had omitted certain complimentary parts, and in particular one which regarded me, personally or publicly. Upon making further enquiry I was fully satisfied of the truth. My indignation may be imagined; I instantly resolved either to proceed to Coomassy at all hazards, or to quit the coast and lay my complaints before government. My letter to the Governor and Council of the 8th of January, of which the following is an extract, will bear testimony to what I affirm.

"Having learned, after leaving the hall yesterday, that the linguist had not made a just interpretation of the message sent down by the King of Ashantee, particularly as regarded that part of the message wherein he sends 'his best compliments to me,' I was induced this morning to send the messenger a present, coupled with a request that he would pay me a visit, &c. What he declared was as follows:—The king desired his best compliments, and would be very glad to see me in the capital, and accordingly a person appointed by the king accompanied him for the purpose of conducting me to court immediately, and without regard to existing disputes, which he, on the part of the king, would remain here to settle. The king says, moreover, he is very much hurt to hear I have been so long detained at Cape Coast.

"From the impression made upon my mind by this conversation as now stated to you, and particularly as my belief is that the demand on the Fort will be abandoned, it is my earnest desire to lose no further

* Whether the linguist on this occasion was instructed to deceive me, whether he acted from design or inadvertency, I cannot say;—but I may say, I *believe* his intention was to support Mr. Smith in his endeavours to oppose the mission.

time in proceeding to the discharge of my duties at Coomassy, and as the king's messenger with his retinue are to remain here, you can, if you think proper, (although it is by no means my wish) detain them as hostages," &c.

"Under all circumstances, and as I am firmly persuaded the king has no hostile intention, &c. I must entreat you, in the name of his majesty, to fix upon an early day for my departure to the Ashantee capital, being determined to proceed thither alone, if the other gentlemen are not disposed to accompany me."

My letters to the Colonial Office set forth the obstacles I had so long contended against, and the ultimate resolution I had taken, conformably to what I have stated. In council I protested, that unless the presents designed for the king were restored to my charge, and due preparations made for the mission, I would leave the coast by the first opportunity,* and should hold them responsible for what consequences might ensue in the sequel. No direct reply was given. Mr. Smith and Mr. Mollan still pertinaciously adhered to their former resolutions, and Mr. Swanzy neither countenanced nor opposed them, for he was at this time interested in affairs of pecuniary moment, in which the council were called upon to enforce the resolutions of the committee against the governor and vice-president.

Some private discussions took place the following morning in town, upon a question between Akassy, a caboceer of Assin belonging to the ambassador's suite, and some of the town chiefs, who were accused of being accessaries to the robbery of certain Assin traders and others, who had ventured to the coast upon the faith of the treaty.

The ambassador again demanded an audience in the Hall, in the course of which he reiterated the demand he was authorized to make

* I have been thus explicit only from the circumstance that the governing faction, in lack of a more equitable charge against me, had the effrontery to write in a clandestine manner to the committee of African merchants, setting forth a disinclination or a dread on my part to perform the duties for which I was sent out.

upon the castle and the town, adding it was the king's fixed determination not to allow the aggression of the natives to pass unpunished, and unless the most ample satisfaction were made, nothing less than war was to be expected, although the king wished to live in friendship with the whites.

At a meeting of the council, it was at last resolved to adopt conciliatory measures, and accordingly this resolution was notified to me by way of reply to my letter of the eighth, as before quoted. As a peace offering, I presume, on the part of Mr. Smith, it was notified also to me, that the governor and council, in consideration of the critical situation of public affairs, had deemed it essential to increase the present originally designed for the king, by the addition *of one hundred kegs of gunpowder, one hundred musquets,* and one hundred ankers of rum, over and above what I brought out from England, and that these articles were to be selected from the best in quality. Some cloths were moreover appropriated for distributing among the ministers and courtiers.

Here then, after seven or eight months loss of time in England, and upwards of a year's forcible detention at Cape Coast Castle, the prospect of reaching my journey's end dawned on the horizon. Yet there existed many preliminary points to adjust: the presents to pack; relays of hammock men to procure; meetings of council upon the affairs of Messrs. Smith and Mollan, upon private affairs, &c. All these matters required time, it must be admitted, but they needed not to have taken up so much as three weeks, viz. from the 11th or 12th of January, to the 2d of February. But it is well known that many hopeful *humane* expectations were raised upon driving the mission into the depth of the rains; the policy adopted was evident, but disappointment crowned the sequel, as every man lived to return, although death made some havoc in after days.

The comparatively few days remaining on my hands were devoted to the society of friends, who, as usual, on such occasions

consult nothing but hospitality and good fellowship. The convivial character of our tropical colonies is proverbially known; I need only observe that Cape Coast does not lag in the rear. Good cheer greeted me in various quarters, and a parting glass at the social board never could do harm in the salubrious climate of the Gold Coast; so, unfortunately my friends thought, in defiance of my own philosophy.

On the 26th of January, as I was coming from a friend's house at a late hour in the evening, a sudden paroxysm of fever arrested me; and for several subsequent days it raged with violence, and as it is frequently the case in this zone, attached itself to the liver. The best medical advice tendered by Mr. Banks, formerly a surgeon in the service, and then a trader in town, availed but little, although the fever occasionally remitted. February set in, and convalescence was yet remote.

The presents were ready at the beginning of the month, and soon after I received documents of possession; but how shall I describe my astonishment, when I found that these simple projectors had intruded upon me a volume of instructions, which they chose to consider proper for my government; adding, at the same time, by message, that unless I would accept of the same upon the prescribed terms, they would take upon themselves to withhold the presents, and appoint one of their own body to attend the court. Thus decorously were my actual instructions authorised by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury treated, and thus respectfully was it presumed to treat a commission bearing the signatures of His Majesty and the Colonial Minister.

My feelings may be well conceived. As the insincerity of my opponents* became more evident, and as sad experience had taught me that if I should now resign myself to their controul, they would not hesitate attempting to pursue measures to an extreme which might

* Mr. Swanzy had publicly declared, both in council and out, that the Board had no power to assume dictation to me, or to interfere in the remotest degree, with those functions which His Majesty's Government had confided to me.

arm them with the power of effecting my political ruin, I was resolved to anticipate the project without even consulting the honourable grounds of resistance my commission afforded. I chose, therefore, to enter the lists armed with precautionary language. I protested against the right claimed by the company's servants to intrude instructions on me. I delivered them over to the possession of a friend, authorizing him to send them to the castle after my departure, and I gave my reasons for so doing in letters from which I shall select the following extracts, the former of which I wrote instantly upon receipt of the instructions.

Cape Coast Castle, 2d February, 1820.

"As regards your instructions to me, it was my intention at first to return them to you without a comment, conceiving, as I do, that I am not bound in any shape to receive instructions from you. But when I reflect, that by taking this step it might lead to an open rupture between us, and prevent those objects for the public good proceeding in a fair train, &c. I sacrifice my own feelings to the service in which I am engaged, and shall only, *for the present*, enter my protest against such instructions *for reasons which will appear in due time*."

Doonqua, 11th February, 1820.

"For reasons which will recur to you, and which appear more fully in my protest, I have thought proper to return you those instructions which you took upon yourselves to frame for my government, not conceiving myself justified as a government officer in recognizing any instructions from you as the servants of a mercantile board. At the same time, and as I before stated, I shall not object to receive any suggestions from you, &c."

To the Governor and Council.

But resuming the clue of the narrative, my distemper, which changed to a fever of the intermittent order, continued obstinate, and

the state of my feelings by no means contributed to assist nature. In short, I was unable to rise effectually from my couch for a week after the presents had been consigned to my charge, namely, from the 1st to the 7th of February, and even then I could but stagger.

During this suspense it was consulted in private how it would be feasible to supersede me in my command, on the score of ill health. This scheme I counteracted by ordering the party to hold themselves in readiness for the march at the instant, and authorizing Mr. Hutton and Mr. Collins to proceed as far as the village of Doonqua, there to attend my coming, should my recovery speedily ensue. The presents, securely packed, and covered with skins to preserve them from the wet, were thus conveyed to the village before-named.

As I did not quit my apartment on the following morning, my opponents sought another mode of annoyance; but now it degenerated to what was really contemptible, for reports were circulated that my illness was feigned. My physician, who was in some shape in the interest of the company, had honour enough, however, to refute the calumny by letter.

On the seventh, I made an attempt to follow my charge, but failed under it; for I could not walk ten paces without support. That night, however, I gained repose; on the eighth, I was better, and on the ninth I left the Cape.

JOURNEY TO COOMASSY.

JOURNAL

OF A

RESIDENCE IN ASHANTEE,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

JOURNEY TO COOMASSY.

DEPARTURE FROM CAPE COAST CASTLE—MOUREE—DUTCH CASTLE OF NASSAU—BEETLES—ASHANTEE TRAVELLERS—RUINS OF FANTEE CROOMS—EMPEROU—DEFEAT OF THE FANTEES AT THAT PLACE—FORMIDABLE SERPENT—SECOND PARTY OF ASHANTEE TRADERS; TERROR OF THE FEMALES—MOSLEM FROM COOMASSY—RED AND BLACK ANTS—DESCRIPTION OF DOONQUA—THE FORESTS—REMAINS OF MANSUE—PROVISIONS PLUNDERED BY THE FANTEES—COURSES OF RIVERS—ABANDOU—CROOMS OR TOWNS OF FOOSO, YANCOMADY, AND AKOMFODY—ANNOYANCE FROM RATS—THE YOUNE, A KIND OF SLOTH—DANSANSOO—MEKAREN—PASSAGE OF THE PRAA—PRASSO—KIKIWHARY—ENMITY OF THE INHABITANTS TOWARDS THE FANTEES; SEDUCTIVE ARTS OF THE FEMALES—SITE OF MIASSA—DEFEAT OF THE ASSINS UNDER CHEBOO—REMAINS OF SAPORGAH, TIBIASSAH, BEQUAMA, AND ENSAMAH—ARRIVAL AT ANSAH.

On the 9th of February, at an early hour in the morning, I mounted my palanquin and bade adieu to the castle. As the customary salute was fired, a party of the town's-people assembled, and tracked my steps along the eastern beach as far as the outskirting houses. Here the crowd of spectators was augmented by another group of men, women, and children, who flocked from the different avenues. The spectacle was indeed calculated to impose an idea of splendour upon the imagination of a negro; and the novelty of a palanquin with four bearers was a refinement in the *luxury* of African travelling, that excited additional

attraction. The women, in particular, who surrounded me, and for a time impeded my progress, were profuse in courtesy.

At the distance of a short quarter of a mile, my friendly retinue bade a final farewell, and returned to their homes. About this time I was compelled to alight, on approaching some rugged cliffs which intersect the beach, jutting out into the sea. The crags which here and there overhung the water, under the semblance of little capes, formed of shelving pointed rock, created serious impediments.

The surface was now totally changed from a bed of sand to one of granite rock, which at intervals stood erect in small spiral points, as if chiseled by the hand of art into the fanciful forms it exhibited. The jutting cliffs appeared to increase in number as we advanced; their acclivities were also of some elevation, and sloped off in angles. In some instances the surface exhibited solid ramparts of stone shooting upwards into ridges little short of perpendicular elevation, and these barriers it became necessary to scale by the combined assistance of hands and feet.

The sun had by this time attained an elevation that rendered the effect of his beams oppressive; the absence of the sea breeze, which seldom sets in before ten o'clock, contributed to increase the languor I felt. The exhaustion occasioned by premature exertion wanted but little of producing a fit of fainting; and at last it totally prevented my descending from the vehicle, notwithstanding the embarrassment and detention it occasioned. In this helpless state, my attendants were compelled to lift me over the obstructions as they occurred. At last we emerged from our difficulties, and as we quitted the sea coast, in approaching the Dutch fort of Mouree, the path presented a fine surface of sand skirted by a few stunted bushes.

The road between Cape Coast Castle and Mouree, and from Mouree to Annamaboe, is at all times disagreeable, and perhaps the most precipitous on the line of coast, but the state of the tide during this journey rendered it particularly so.

On entering the town the Dutch colours were hoisted in compliment to my arrival, by the corporal who had charge of the fort; for it is at present ungarrisoned, although not considered as abandoned by his Majesty of the Netherlands.

When I alighted, I felt a degree of exhaustion and indisposition, occasioned by a slight attack of fever, that rendered it extremely dubious if I could proceed further that day. The crowd which had assembled obstructed the current of air, small as it was, and increased the languid symptoms until, for a few seconds, the heat was insupportable; but a draught of the cold infusion of bark, added to the refreshing application of vinegar, quickly restored me. The Caboceer of the town and the Dutch corporal shortly after waited upon me to exchange compliments.

Some trivial disputes ensued among the Fantees on the distribution of equal loads, and before the misunderstanding could be enquired into, it appeared that the good sense of those, to whom the least cumbersome and weighty burthens were assigned, had suggested the propriety of decamping during the confusion. To appease these discontents it was requisite to supply the deficiency, by taking on a few more carriers; and as nothing more remained to do, but prosecute the journey, I embraced this opportunity to disencumber myself from the burthen of military accoutrements. The travelling dress which I now substituted for my former apparel, consisted of a jacket and trousers of linen; it was commodious and light, and contributed, in no small degree, to alleviate the oppression from intense heat. The hour of ten flattered us with expectation of a sea-breeze, and a zephyr, announcing its approach, soon afterwards agitated the torpid atmosphere.

The Dutch castle at Mouree is called Nassau; and, when the slave trade was in its vigour, was deemed a station of great importance. The edifice, although small, is compact, and regularly flanked with bastions at each angle; this, added to its elevated situation, would entitle the place to some respect as a fortification, provided it still maintained a gar-

rison. The landing-place is tolerably commodious for canoes, and differs little from that of Cape Coast. The town of Mouree, like all the towns in the vicinity of European forts, is built immediately under the walls, and is a compact mass of stone and clay-constructed houses, without any other order than a division of the whole into irregular openings or avenues, forming narrow lanes, of intricate, and in some places, from the obstructions of dirt and rubbish, of difficult access. The whole population is supposed not to exceed eight thousand souls. Its distance from Cape Coast is nearly four miles.

Our route from Mouree was rather to the eastward of north. The path in the vicinity of the town was open for the distance of more than half a mile, except at intervals, where a few projecting boughs of the loftier kinds of shrubs intersected each other; but as we proceeded the road gradually contracted, and the bushes which were stunted before, now exhibited a more mature and luxurious growth; added to which, a number of lofty trees grew spontaneously over the surface of the country.

The soil on the line of march was a reddish clay, covered with a scanty surface of white sand, interspersed with broken pieces of quartz: the sand, however, appeared attached exclusively to the path, and was probably the effect of constant friction upon the quartz pebble, which, from its brittle quality, pulverized to a glittering dust.

The discordant voices of the larger species of birds now vibrated through the woods; but the luxuriancy of the foliage obstructed the view. The notes of parrots, crown birds, and toucans, were, however, easily recognized amidst a vociferous medley of warblers, who, as we advanced, retreated, sportively singing and hopping from spray to spray.

Various large beetles, but more particularly one of the cricket kind, swelled out a lengthened note of an indescribable sound, exceedingly shrill and inharmonious. These little inhabitants of the forest climb the loftiest boughs, where they sustain life by perforating the bark, and

sucking out the glutinous sap of the ganian and other mucilaginous trees; they are extremely numerous, and as their notes commence with the rising sun, and last throughout the day, they keep up an uninterrupted uniform dizzy chirping.

At three miles and a half from Mouree, we passed the site where a small Fantee croom was said to have existed, but of which not a vestige remained. The plantations of cassada, banana, guava, &c. nevertheless still flourished in unnurtured growth, blended with the wild productions of the forest. The path suddenly contracted as we ascended an acclivity, and the foot-way, which appeared to have been formed by the passage of a current of water, was scarcely wider than the breadth of a foot. The impediment occasioned by this gully was increased by the fall of several large trees, which intersected the path at right angles, forming, as it were, a breast work which it was necessary to scale or to scramble under.

The distant tinkling of an iron castanet now attracted our notice, as it announced the approach of strangers; another instant presented to our view a party of five Ashantees, who informed us that they were journeying to Elmina for gunpowder. They had left Coomassy, they said, twenty-one days before. One of these travellers was decorated with a very large necklace of human teeth, interwoven with charms. The teeth had the appearance of recent extraction, an opinion that was afterwards strengthened by the sight of a little ivory blowing horn, to which he was then in the operation of fastening a human jawbone. To my inquiries how he became possessed of these trophies I could not obtain a satisfactory answer; a smile of brutal insensibility, however, convinced me the question was of a gratifying nature, inasmuch as it was interpreted into a compliment to his military prowess. This feeling was displayed by various contortions of mockery and exultation, as he directed a sort of conversation to the relic, in a chaunting tone.

A little beyond this, we entered another plantation in a kind of valley, containing the site where also a Fantee croom had stood in

former times. We passed two other spots of this description, before we entered an opening covered with palms, plantains, and papas. Here I sought the shelter of a tree, under which I alighted to obtain a little rest, and allow my attendants leisure for refreshment. On descending from my hammock (for the palanquin I had already been compelled to lay aside) the sensation of languor was so oppressive, that I could not preserve my footing without grasping the boughs for support.

The surface beyond this was every where covered with the same dwarf shrubs and forest trees, blended together. The stems of some were concealed by a species of parasitical plants, covering in some places the loftiest boughs. This produced a lively and novel contrast to the barren stems of others by which they were surrounded. Detached patches of bamboo and dwarf palm became also more frequent, and added to the variety of the landscape.

The next opening exhibited some relics that denoted a field of battle; it is now remarkable for a few straggling hovels built among the ruins of an extensive village, and inhabited by a remnant of Fantees, who had the good fortune to escape during the invasion of their country by the Ashantees.

This croom is called Yanbrassa: the number of its inhabitants did not appear to exceed two hundred; notwithstanding the numerous plantations by which it was surrounded afforded invitation to settlers. No corn was seen, but yams, bananas, plantains and papas flourished without culture. At a little distance to the North and East, on the slope of a hill, stands another village, called by the natives Tom Coffee, after the name of a particular kind of cloth, of which the Fantees are very fond. Here also the plantations were in a state of high natural perfection.

At the distance of half a mile, we passed the ruins of a small croom, called Berim: another spot of desolation bore the name of Eydro. We then entered a plantation that covered a greater extent of ground than any we had before passed. The diameter of this space probably exceeded a furlong, and in the midst of a jungle stood a few hovels

squeezed within a mass of crumbling walls. The name of this croom was Emperou. Its inhabitants during the first invasion of Fantee by the King of Ashantee, had observed an unfortunate neutrality, until the great battle which preceded the destruction of Abrah, and the extermination of the Braffo chieftains. To this unhappy policy they had been inclined from jealousy of the Braffo influence. Convinced of their error when it was too late, and smarting under the recent blow their country had sustained by the loss of its capital, they rashly formed the resolution of defending themselves against a sovereign already flushed with conquest. A Caboceer named Quassy Beni, who had escaped from the general slaughter at Abrah, presented himself before Emperou with the shattered remnant of his division, and invited the inhabitants to form a junction with his forces for the defence of their town. The proposal was embraced by the Emperous who had already collected another body of auxiliaries. This little army was, besides, augmented by the junction of some straggling parties who were necessarily falling back as the enemy advanced. The king, however, was acquainted with what was transacting; his object, after the destruction of the Fantee government, was, perhaps, confined to the temporary occupation of Fantee, and the imposition of contributions; but the obstinacy of the people, it is said, forced that monarch to secure his conquests by the exterminating use of fire and sword, until he drove his enemies into the sea. Be this as it may, it was admitted by Fantees as well as Ashantees, that before another blow was struck, after the affair at Abrah, the king sent messengers to several of the Fantee towns, calling the people to submission, upon the promise of protection in life and property: thus pacifically inclined, he sent two of his sword-bearers to Emperou, to proclaim his sentiments to the chiefs; but, whether from distrust, or a too implicit reliance upon their own strength, these proposals were not only treated with contempt, but the royal messengers were used with indignity, and then put to death. When this impolitic step became known to the king, it naturally rekindled his wrath, and he then vowed the overthrow of Cheboo's government.

The order was now given to exterminate the population of every town, and raze the houses to their foundations; and in conformity with this resolution a body of troops was detached against Emperou, with orders not to spare an inhabitant of either sex. In the meantime the Fantee troops, assisted by the inhabitants and their auxiliaries, assembled to the number of many thousands, and by vigilance succeeded in cutting off some reconnoitring parties of the enemy. Too much elated by this success, they at length determined upon the plan of endeavouring to intercept the communication between the detachment and the king's head quarters. They separated their men into two bodies, one of which being left to guard the town, the other made a circuitous march to the westward, and fell unexpectedly upon the flank and rear of their adversaries. No happy consequences attended the action; it would appear, from accounts of the survivors, that neither party was prepared for the rencontre. The Ashantees, however, lost no time in sounding the alarm, rallying their forces, and recalling the advanced guard to their assistance, while the Fantees, even before the onset, were appalled. In this state of eventful inactivity, it is said, the main body of the Fantees remained passive spectators during a distant skirmish between their own vanguard and a detachment of the enemy. At last the Ashantees advanced with a shout, which struck a decided panic in their favour; the Fantees soon fled outright, and, with some loss, rejoined their comrades at Emperou. Notwithstanding this check, the inhabitants, as the Ashantees approached, suffered themselves to be led out to battle. The united force of the Fantees is stated to have greatly outnumbered their enemies, and a battle of the most sanguinary complexion ensued, at the distance of a mile from the town. The first charge of the Ashantees was severely checked, and they were driven back upon the main body with slaughter. The enemy, however, was too well disciplined to allow the Fantees to improve upon their advantage, and a murderous firing succeeded the onset, in which the Ashantees, from superior celerity, had the advantage. Still, however, the Fantees

maintained their ground, with a degree of intrepidity not undeserving of record, as it is perhaps a solitary instance during this war of their valour and resolution. On a sudden, vollies of musquetry announced an attack on their flank and rear, supported by the king in person. This unexpected charge decided the fortune of the day, for the Fantees now retreated with precipitation, while their enemies rushed on, and strewed the forest with indiscriminate carnage. Before the retreating army could regain the town, it was doomed to cut a passage through an opposing body of the enemy, who were at that critical period in possession of many of the houses; despair assisted their efforts, and their enemies were either cut to pieces or trampled under foot. The town itself, which was already in flames, afforded no protection against the murderous assaults of their pursuers. In this hopeless state, several of the Caboceers, after destroying their property, their wives, and children, put an end to their own existence; whilst the people, endeavouring to fly from the scene of carnage, were intercepted and butchered, or cast headlong amidst the burning houses. To sum up the horrors of this barbarous scene, every house was entered with fire and sword, and the inhabitants of both sexes destroyed. It is said that, with the exception only of about one hundred people, who fled before the town was assaulted, not a soul escaped from the calamity. These particulars were narrated by my two guides who were in that conflict.

The walls stood in many places erect, exhibiting the action of fire which, by vitrifying the clayey composition, had preserved the ruins from dissolution. The surface of the earth was whitened, in particular spots, with ashes, and bleached human bones and sculls, forming a distressing portrait of African warfare. In crossing the opening, some of the Fantees, by way of diversion, pointed to the relics, saying jocosely, they were Ashantee trophies: the Ashantees retorted the jest upon their fellow travellers with equal good-humour, and all parties were indifferent at a retrospection so paralyzing to humanity,

A small brook crossed the path at a little distance from Emperou,

tracking a course south-east to the Amissa River, which flows into the sea at the back of Tantum. During the operation of filling some water bottles, a discovery was accidentally made of a large snake coiled upon a pile of stones. The reptile appeared to be in a state of torpor, or sleep; and judging from the mass of folds, could scarcely be less than fourteen feet in length, by nine inches diameter, in the thickest part of the body. The scales on its back were large, and beautifully variegated with red and bright yellow. I was anxious to obtain the skin, but it was not deemed prudent by my guides to make the attack, as they affirmed that its bite was mortally venomous. In this particular it may therefore be supposed to differ from the boa-constrictor.

We met, shortly afterwards, with a large party of Assins and Ashantees, who stationed themselves on each side of the road, and saluted me with many courteous bows. They were armed in the fashion of their country with musquets and knives, and were conveying some bulky loads of ivory, and a valuable kind of grease used by the natives for anointing their bodies. A number of women and girls, whose employment consisted in attending upon their husbands, or masters, closed the order of the march, which from the nature of the path was necessarily in Indian file. The elderly females were under some consternation as I approached, yet they were not behind the men in good manners; but the young women, who perhaps had never seen a white man before, were wholly unable to controul their fears. The panic was excited by a very interesting girl who, at first sight, plunged screaming amidst the bushes, after resigning her hold of a bundle which she was carrying on her head. This movement was instantaneously adopted by the rest of her companions, to the great diversion of the men, who added to the general amusement by raising a shout, which increased the apprehensions of the *fair* fugitives.

We had not proceeded twenty paces from the spot, before we again fell in company with a party consisting of three men, two of whom were slaves, carrying a few elephant's teeth to the coast. The dress of the

proprietor, which consisted of a long shirt, a pair of ragged trousers, and a loose cap resembling a turban, convinced me that he was a Moslem. He saluted me with the customary inclination of the body, which I acknowledged with the Salam. For some moments he appeared in doubt, but recovering from his surprise he pursued my steps, and taking me by the hand, repeated with great emphasis, "Alikà Salam yà khâi," "Peace be upon you brother." I endeavoured to converse with the man; but we were wholy unintelligible to each other, except in the few scripture phrases which comprised his stock of Arabic knowledge. By means of an interpreter, I found he was from Coomassy, where he had left the King in anxious expectation of my arrival. He had just quitted Doonqua, he said, where all the white men were well.

Pursuing the journey, we came to an opening where a few huts stood detached from the ruins of another large croom, whose fragments were half concealed in high Guinea grass, and jungle, interspersed with plantain, guava and papa trees. I was by this time so extremely exhausted with fatigue and indisposition, that it was doubtful if I could even reach my destination that night. Somewhat refreshed, however, by a short repose I indulged in at this place, and by another application to my restorative draught, I again resumed the march, and before four o'clock was gratified with the prospect of Doonqua. The day had been excessively warm, and the thermometer in town stood at 90 degrees in the shade.

The horizontal distance from Mouree to Doonqua, I estimate at fourteen miles and a half, although from the sinuosities of the path there can be no doubt that the whole journey exceeds twenty. The average course from Cape Coast is N. NE. The surface of this space is covered with a mixture of tall tress, stunted shrubs and bushes. The species which I recognised, amidst a vast amphitheatre of unknown productions, were bombax or silk cotton, tamarind, low palm, ganyan, wild orange, wild cedar, monkey apple, doom trees, a sort of wild fig, erasma, mahogany, and a lofty tree that yielded a light apple like the

coloquintida. Among the dwarf trees were several kinds of dying woods, of which I saw samples varying in tint from a deep to a bright yellow and orange, and others of a crimson red. Besides these, were numerous trees of lignum vitæ, iron wood, guava bush and laurel. I discovered also, several species of fine cane, of which the rattan and small Bamboo were the most conspicuous, growing in clumps or patches. The anana, or pine apple plant, flourished along the sides of the path, and even under the more sheltered parts of the forest, exhibiting, equal luxuriance in spots where it was not possible for the rays of the sun to penetrate. Several sorts of aloes were seen embedded with creeping shrubs: that called *aloe succotrina* was distinguished by its thorny leaves and spiral growth; but others of this class towered into trees of a beautiful appearance, the *aloe arborescens Africana.* Chains of fibrous stems shooting forward in longitudinal projections, completed the wild beauties of the surrounding scenery. Many of the fibrous species varied in dimensions, from the size of ordinary packthread, to the thickness of a large cable rope, which in some instances they represented by a natural twist. These vegetable chains, wholly destitute of leaves, appeared to bind the entire forest in solid concatenation. In some spots they rose to an elevation of fifty feet perpendicular height, sustaining their weight by an endless variety of folds and embraces, amidst the thickest boughs, and descending again in an opposite direction only to seek another commodious supporter.

The soil between Mouree and Doonqua, is a rich brown mould, occasionally encrusted by white sand and quartz pebble. The mould, however, did not appear to be of sufficient depth to afford much nourishment to the larger growth of the vegetable kingdom. On examining several fallen trees, I particularly noticed that the roots grew almost exclusively in horizontal shoots. This may be attributed as much to the sterility of the strata below the mould, as to nature itself, because this remarkable character was not confined to a particular class of vegetation. In the ravines and gullies were large pieces of quartz scattered over deep

sandy beds. One remarkable patch of solid granite rose in pyramidal masses to the altitude of twenty or more feet; these blocks of stone were at a short distance from the ruins of Emperou. No smooth pebbles were seen.

The habitations of the red ants form a striking feature, as they convey the idea of little towns established in the wilderness by another order of the creation. These erections are spiral, and of the elevation of ten or more feet. Another class of these insects, the small black ant, build nests on the boughs of trees, which in appearance resemble a globular or cylindrical mass of black clay, unlike that of the red ant, which is of a gravelly yellow tint. The weight of these masses of earth, and the glutinous matter which cements the parts, causes the boughs to droop and bend, in some cases, till they sweep the ground; and in others these nests are cemented to the ramifications of several trees, which encrust the whole in a solid mass of dripping mucilaginous matter. The most voracious and formidable insect of this genus is the large black ant, which burrows under the roots of trees, and erects a sort of nest upon the surface, resembling in form the mushroom.

The village of Doonqua is indebted for the importance it now enjoys, to the invasion of Fantee, and the desolation of its towns and cities, particularly that of Abrah. Formerly the spot on which it stands exhibited only a few humble sheds, the residence of foresters, and people whose occupations, as wood-cutters, and canoe builders, induced them to settle there. The ground, on which it stands has been evidently gained from the forest. The inhabitants are said to exceed two thousand, and out of that number, in cases of emergency, they can equip 300 men for war.

The plantations that surround the croom are extensive, and yield more than sufficient for internal consumption. The houses of the inhabitants are built in the style of those of the Ashantees. A piece of ground is first cleared, and a frame-work, according to the plan and dimensions

of the intended edifice, is erected, with some regard to regularity. This frame consists of long poles, sunk below the surface at each angle. To these poles they attach hurdles by means of a strong lashing of fibrous twigs collected from the forest, the interstices being afterwards closely filled up with clay, which is smoothed over with rubbing stones; this gives it solidity and uniformity. Bamboo and palm boughs are employed for the thatch, which from its regular structure has a much more pleasing effect than the rude boughs and grass used by the natives on the coast.

The house of the Caboceer consisted of an assemblage of apartments quadrangularly enclosed in the form of three squares; linked together by avenues, barely sufficient in width to admit free ingress. Upon enquiring the reason of this singular style I was satisfied with the reply, that it was advantageous for defence or escape, in case of an attack. I could not avoid remarking that the plan upon which the more wealthy part of the community built their houses, resembled, although rudely, that of the Moors of Barbary; the only striking difference was between the thatched roofs of the former, and the terraced covering of the latter.

A small stream of running water, in the vicinity of the croom, supplies the inhabitants with that element in a state of purity, and thereby exempts them from that excruciating malady the Guinea-worm, a disorder with which the natives of the sea coast, who use the stagnant water of pools, are cruelly afflicted.

The Caboceer who governs Doonqua under the king is called Paintry, and the village is also known as Paintry's croom. The course of policy pursued by this chieftain during the invasion, entitled him to the clemency of the conquerors. After the destruction of the Fantee armies, he was permitted to retire from Abrah with all his property, and this was the spot he selected for his residence, to which he invited other settlers to establish themselves under his protection. The king afterwards conferred upon him the dignity of Caboceer; although the only

benefit he reaps from that title is an honourable seclusion from the court, whose policy interdicts all confidence in the Fantees.

Towards the close of the day, the Ashantees, headed by their two captains, Ado and Quako, assembled to wish me joy on my arrival, and to learn my intentions regarding the morrow. As the fatigue I had undergone suggested the propriety of rest, I retired at an early hour, but passed a sleepless night, for I was attacked with a smart paroxysm of fever, attended with acute pains in the side.

The tenth of February was spent in quarters. Mr. Collins, during the day, had an attack of ague, and was confined to his bed; the other officers, however, enjoyed good health. The thermometer at twelve o'clock stood again at ninety degrees in my apartment; but as the evening approached it fell, and during a tornado, which ushered in a heavy fall of rain, the quicksilver was for a few seconds considerably agitated: it afterwards sunk gradually during the storm to eighty-one degrees. Towards evening it fell as low as seventy-six degrees, and the transition from heat to cold was acutely felt. My health still continued below mediocrity until the evening of this day, when I was overpowered for the first time with a soothing sleep; from this period my bodily ailments subsided with a rapidity that has ever since made the retrospection wonderful. At the dawn of day I arose much refreshed, and already I enjoyed the certain criterion of returning health, a wholesome craving for food. From this period, the eleventh day of the month, symptoms of convalescence advanced rapidly. Mr. Collins was also improving; and as circumstances were thus propitious, I gave orders for the march on the following day. Unfortunately at this crisis the chief linguist was severely afflicted with Guinea-worms; and without giving notice of his intention, he returned to the Cape.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 12th, we left Doonqua. After penetrating through a thicket of five or six hundred paces, we suddenly found ourselves in a forest as magnificent as it was dense and

intricate. Numerous plants and creepers of all dimensions chained tree to tree, and branch to branch, clustering the whole in entanglement, so that it sometimes became necessary to cut an opening as we proceeded. In this operation we were considerably retarded, and our clothing suffered much from the rude assaults we sustained from the trunks of trees, and impending boughs. Nor was this the only inconvenience; for notwithstanding we were continually on the alert in watching these formidable obstructions, we could not avoid receiving some slight contusions, and scratches. The opacity of this forest communicated to the atmosphere and the surrounding scenery a semblance of twilight; no ray of sunshine penetrated the cheerless gloom, and we were in idea entombed in foliage of a character novel and fanciful. The death-like stillness that prevailed was soon interrupted by the occasional shouting of the negroes, to put to flight, as they termed it, the evil spirits of the forest. Now and then a flight of parrots and other gregarious birds interrupted the intervals of silence; but the richness of this vegetable canopy prevented the possibility of gaining even the most imperfect view of these feathered screechers, or indeed of anything but those objects by which we were immediately surrounded. Even on the line of path, so frequent were the turnings, and so greatly did the angles incline to the eastward and westward of north, that I have no hesitation in affirming that the precision with which Mr. Bowdich has described his route by compass, from what he has termed a calculation of its numerous angles, is, at best, but a conjectural estimate.

In some spots the land was elevated in slopes and ridges, yet it was not upon the whole deserving the name of hilly. On descending one of these slopes, a partial opening in the forest afforded a limited prospect, and the blaze of light that burst through this gap animated the scene with some tints of lively green. Clumps of plantain trees were seen sprouting out of a rich bed of grass and cane, and the whole plat was studded with low palm and patches of jungle. We were now in the enjoyment of what was comparatively a distant prospect; it was the summit of a little hill,

at a short musket-shot distance from the path, covered with vegetation. A few wretched hovels stood in the midst of silence and desolation. In former days, however, this gap contained a very populous town.

Again we plunged into the recesses of a forest whose obstructions were as formidable as the preceding, and we shortly after came to a piece of swampy land, on the margin of which we alighted for refreshment. Having expeditiously satisfied the cravings of hunger, we resumed the journey over two small water courses flowing to the south-east, but they were nameless. After crossing another little stream, we were consoled with intelligence that our resting-place for the night was close at hand. An opening that admitted the fading rays of daylight, now presented a capacious surface, fledged with exuberant patches of grass and jungle, in the midst of which stood some tattered sheds. This was Mansue, where formerly stood a large opulent town called by the same name, and considered the frontier of the kingdom of Fantee. Mansue originally owed all its importance to the traffic in slaves. When Fantee and Assin were two distinct sovereignties, it was customary to permit the latter to bring slaves and merchandize to this mart, where they were regularly met by the Coast traders. In those days I was assured the whole space was occasionally surcharged by assembled crowds, whose interests were connected with the traffic in slaves.

The Ashantees had arrived before us, and already were their fires blazing in all directions; it therefore became necessary to use precautions against any accident that might endanger a communication with the gunpowder, which the careless insensibility of these people would have consigned to one of the sheds. A small chasm resembling a cave, which stood at the distance of about a hundred paces to the westward, was pointed out as a secure receptacle, and thither it was conveyed.

The path over which we this day travelled differed materially from the preceding journey. The forest between Doonqua and Mouree, however imposing, is not to be classed with the one that now falls under description; for, indeed, every advancing pace seems to confirm

the knowledge that the traveller is no longer on the confines, but in the heart of a great continental wilderness, where nature governs on a scale of proportionate magnitude. The bamboo and dwarf palm occupied intervals where they covered the space of many acres, presenting thorny impenetrable barriers; and where they bordered the path were amongst our most formidable enemies. A tree of the mimosa species also, of large dimensions, was occasionally discovered by an aromatic fragrance emitted from its pods. These pods, which exhibited a firm woody texture, were eagerly sought after by the Fantees, for the purpose of extracting their odour. The Ashantees named the tree cotamma. Wild fig trees were numerous, and the fruit lay thickly spread upon the ground. The leaf of this tree bore, however, no resemblance to the true fig leaf; but rather resembled the maple, in its formation and glossy surface. The fruit itself, notwithstanding it could not visibly be distinguished from the fig, resembled it neither in smell nor taste, for it was exceedingly offensive, whilst its external construction promised all the delicacy of that luscious fruit in a state of culture. The Mimosa Scandriensis, or Patagonian tamarind, every where abounded. This is a majestic tree, yet it by no means deserves to be ranked with the first class of African growth. The pod, as its name indicates, is a tamarind externally and internally, but its dimensions are from one to two feet in length, and in breadth about four inches, yielding a number of stones proportionate to the size of the outer rind.* Besides these, the forest was strewed with several kinds of fruit resembling the pomegranate, and a very large growth of guava; but the odour they diffused was most repugnant to the smell, notwithstanding their inviting looks. Bombax and wild tamarind were the most conspicuous objects, as well from numbers, as their remarkable forms and bulk. In certain spots some monstrous trees had fallen to the earth from decay, exhibiting in that

* Some of the seed I brought to England and consigned to Mr. Lee, of Kensington, in whose Nursery it was sown.

state, every stage between maturity and decomposition. Here and there were scattered solid mahogany logs, as if torn from their roots by tempests. Others under rapid stages of decay, showed a gangrenous disease at the root. Many also, which had the semblance of having fallen long since, yielded to external pressure, and occasionally the foot would sink through moistened dust to the depth of several inches. A few were cankered through the centre, leaving an open passage between the separated stem over huge heaps of rotten wood-dust. Some of the fibrous kinds were covered with knots and sharp-pointed thorns of a fearful growth, the punctures of which were considered by the Ashantees as painful and poisonous; they were on this account avoided with caution.

Some hollows and slopes, where the rain had collected, exhibited sheets of clay-coloured water through which we waded at uncertain depths; but generally between the knee and ancle. The sides and bottoms of these cavities were of a spongy slime, which absorbed the feet with the slightest pressure, and rendered the passage exceedingly laborious.

We were seldom disturbed by the howling or appearance of wild beasts, yet the spots which were supposed to have been visited by hyenas, were, on approaching them, easily recognised by the emission of a fetid effluvia which, it would seem, the earth had imbibed from the exhalations of the hide of that animal. Indeed these rancid smells were frequent on the route, although we never could discover their authors.

As the night closed in, we endeavoured, by means of the luggage, to form a fence round our tattered habitation; and having erected a sort of breast work, we retired to rest as composedly as our limited comforts would permit: for at Mansue we could procure nothing, save two or three unripe plantains. These privations had been anticipated at Doonqua by a stock of provision, more than reasonably enough to last two or three days; but our good friends the Fantees, imagining they could carry the burthen in a more commodious manner than on their heads, had thought it advisable to distribute the weight internally. Besides

committing so great a depredation on our suppers, they had made a serious attack upon the rum kegs and wine bottles. The excessive fatigue of the march, had indeed overpowered the acute sensation of hunger; but I awoke at an early hour in the morning, indifferently refreshed, and exceedingly stiff from the bruises and excoriations of the preceding day. The route to Mansue is about N. half E. distance seventeen miles horizontal, twenty-two by the path, which is one of the most tortuous on the journey.

At seven o'clock in the morning of the thirteenth we left Mansue, and with it the prospect of the heavens, as we entered a forest exactly similar to the former. The limits of the foot-way could scarcely be said to exceed the width of twelve inches, over which the shrubbery projected on all sides. Another fall of rain during the night, had soddened the earth, and all the vegetable world was dripping with a moisture which showered upon our bodies in plentiful discharges, while the foliage nearer to the surface, with equal liberality, shed its moisture on our clothes, to a degree that very speedily drenched us through to the skin. The etiquette of Africa, which imposed on me the head of the file, was little to be envied in this place, as it naturally exposed me to more than a single share of soaking.

A little running stream, such as might be termed a brook, flowed with a sluggish motion rather to the eastward of south. The Ashantees called it Sanary. The gap it occasioned was equal to twelve or fourteen feet, yet the junction of the boughs above the stream, entirely excluded the sun's rays. The water was limpid, although sensibly impregnated with decomposed vegetable matter, and when disturbed by pressure, the soil raised a turbid cloud from its bed, like the grounds of coffee

About eleven A. M. we arrived at the Okee; a little river that holds its course here to the S.SE. over a bed of granite rock and white sand, with a gentle rippling current. This stream was the most important of any we had yet seen, although its surface at the ford did not

exceed four fathoms. The depth was indeed too inconsiderable to deserve notice, except in certain spots, where the water had collected in pools, formed by the embankment and some stony obstructions. Here alone, the sun had a partial action upon the shrubbery. The Okee empties itself into the sea near Tantum, and is there known as the Amissa river. On leaving its embankments, we again left behind us the cheerful light of day.

A party of Ashantees who were journeying south, suddenly approached, and saluted by a respectful inclination of the body. They were from Coomassy, they said, and had been deputed by Agampong to sell their loads of ivory at El Mina, whither they were going. The information obtained from these people corroborated former accounts of the anxiety of the king to see me in his capital.

We arrived next at an extensive cluster of ground palms, where a little stream called Ibani flowed to the west of south, and was said to unite with a larger branch, in its track to the Okee. The river named Agoya or Gaya, next arrested the attention, its course was south. The width of this stream in the broadest part might have equalled eighteen feet, its bed, however, was compact, and the embankment steep; but at the ford the water scarcely covered the ancle. This is a stream tributary to the Okee. About half a mile beyond the Agoya we fell in with a small clear watercourse that terminated in an extensive swamp, spreading around as far as our limited prospect afforded observation; in the midst stood many of the largest forest trees.

On leaving the swamp, we caught the distant tinkling of the castanet, and at the turning of an angle fell in with six Ashantees who had left Abandou, as they asserted, within the compass of an easy run. We had not long separated from these people, before we met two others in company with many women and slaves, among whom was a girl about fourteen years old, of the most jetty blackness, and in features more than ordinarily interesting. Whether these travellers belonged to

the preceding party or not I had no opportunity of inquiring, for they fled abruptly into the recesses of the forest.

Exactly at night-fall a little opening which discovered a mass of jungle and cane, denoted our arrival at Abandou; the croom at which it was proposed to rest that night. A few bamboo huts thatched with palm, and lined with cane matting, marked the spot where formerly a more extensive town existed. In the vicinity of the houses was a small plantation which barely sufficed for the refreshment of travellers; for we were again constrained to resort to our fragments.

The occupiers of two or three of these huts, were by the orders of the Ashantees turned out of their habitations, for our accommodation; much against their will indeed, for the weather indicated rain. The fissures were therefore carefully closed, by which the apartments were rendered tolerably comfortable.

The horizontal distance from Mansue to this place is eighteen and a half miles, and by the path about twenty-three. The average of the courses gave N. half E.

During the reign of King Cheboo, who governed in Assin prior to the Ashantee invasion, Abandou was a populous village; but it now gives shelter to a few foresters only.

The features of the country between Mansue and Abandou are almost the same as on the preceding march. Many of the climbing plants, and some of a migratory character, were observed to strike across the rivulets, from bank to bank, by twisting their stems for support amidst the lower limbs of lofty trees, and adhering in their progress to whatever object stood in the way, until the opposite shore again afforded a permanent resting place. The large parasitical plants were more frequently seen as we advanced to the north. The mimosa classes were numerous, as also clusters of the ground palm, and wild aloe; ebony, various species of mahogany, iron-wood, wild tamarind, &c. were among the most conspicuous, and may be added to those already described as inhabitants of this forest.

The banks of several streams exhibited strata of red and dark grey coloured clays, surmounted with light and sandy mould. Decaying wood and vegetable matter presented solid masses of corruption in all its various stages. The thermometer in the woods at eight o'clock A. M. stood at eighty degrees, and at noon at eighty-two.

Notwithstanding the combination of evils such as have been described, and which are unavoidable in travelling through the forests of this kingdom, the fatigue they occasion is perhaps more than counterbalanced by the friendly shade they afford the European traveller. The contrast in temperature, when we emerged to one of those insulated spots where the sun has a partial action, was equal to an increase of eight or nine degrees on Fahrenheit's scale.

A light rustling breeze from the east, shortly after our arrival at Abandou, indicated an approaching tornado. The thunder was heard in the distance, but no rain fell near our quarters. As the heavens were now partially open to observation, we were for some time amused with the flight of parrots, crown birds, toucans, cranes, vultures, hawks, and a variety of smaller birds, retreating before the expected blast, and seeking security from the torrents of rain which accompany this species of storm. Some of the latter were clothed in plumage beyond conception beautiful; about the same time, a troop of monkeys of the marmozet and large black species, were sportingly skipping from tree to tree, with astonishing dexterity.

The fatigue we had endured, and the limited rest we enjoyed in our quarters at Mansue, induced an early retirement to repose. For my own part, I revelled until morning, in what then seemed to me the most luxurious repose I had ever enjoyed.

On the 14th, at eight o'clock in the morning, we left Abandou: the path for the first two miles was particularly intricate, and the ground more than usually covered by entangled thickets of bamboo, palm, briars, and other thorny ligaments.

At three miles distance from Abandou, we fell in with a pretty little

rivulet called Katoa, its course was to the south-east, over a bed of rock and sand. This also is tributary to the Amissa. At half a mile beyond this, we crossed another stream of less magnitude, running to the southward of west, into the Katoa: it was called by the Ashantees Abonou. In half an hour more, we fell in with the Okee, its computed distance from Abandou being short of five miles and a half. The course of the river this time, was westward, inclining a little to the south, which was the reverse of its course on the south side of Abandou. The ford at this place was intersected by a chain of rocks forming a sort of bridge. We shortly after crossed the Adanso running south-west into the Okee, at no great distance from the ford. Here we perceived a number of Assin women and children, who were washing in the stream.

Lions and panthers were said to be found here occasionally only, for they usually occupy the thickets in the vicinity of villages, where they enjoy more opportunities of satisfying the cravings of hunger on the cattle of the inhabitants than in the solitary regions of the wilderness: an observation which appeared to me of a reasonable texture, as it coincided with the opinion I had previously formed on the nature of those voracious quadrupeds. The lion, the tyger, the panther, the leopard, say the Ashantees as well as the Arabs, are delicate in the selection of their victims. They must destroy the carcase themselves, or they loathe the food; and the blood alone suffices their wants, unless indeed the rage of hunger be very great, in which case they will devour a small portion of the flesh, leaving the remains of their prey to the hyenas and other carnivorous animals. The reason they alledge why hyenas, jackalls, &c. make more extensive excursions, is that these animals will take up with any kind of food, whether in a state of putrefaction or not. The superior beasts of prey seldom remove to any great distance from the place which gave them birth, provided there be opportunities of sustaining life, even at any risk from the wiles of mankind. Throughout the whole extent of land from Doonqua to the

banks of the Praa river there are neither towns nor hamlets, consequently there is no cattle for the sustenance of these animals, except the chance range of a few deer.

We next arrived at a small stream that flowed to the south-west, but its insignificance was such that it had no name. A mile beyond this stream is the Atonsou, a little rivulet flowing S.SW. into the Praa. Here an opening presented itself to our view, in which the scene was animated by the reflection of the sun upon a rich foliage that surrounded a sort of dam, where a body of water had stagnated. Having left the Atonsou a mile in the rear, we came to a few bamboo huts like those at Abandou. The area, which was free from forest trees, was about three hundred paces in diameter. The sugar-cane, and a few banana and plantain trees, grew hereabouts in luxuriant clusters, besides which there were both high and low palm, bamboo, cocoa trees, and erasma. The name of this place is Fooso. Prior to the invasion it was a town of some little consequence, chiefly from its central position: it was then well inhabited, whereas at present it exhibits no better aspect than Abandou, and neither place admits of more than a temporary sojournment. During the retreat of Cheebo, when he fell back upon Fantee, a skirmish took place between the Ashantees and Assins in the neighbourhood of these huts; the former gained the advantage, and the destruction of the town was the natural consequence of that action. The Ashantee army then pursued the fugitive monarch southward. The distance from Abandou to Fooso is eleven miles.

Our route still lay through forest, but to the north of Fooso the ground was clear of thicket, and the eye was permitted to wander amidst its recesses to the distance occasionally of forty or fifty yards. An horizontal glance exhibited pillars of wood of mighty dimensions, rivetted as it were to pedestals, such as Mr. Bowdich has not inappropriately termed flying buttresses; trees proportionately smaller filled up the interstices of this woody landscape. The prospect above dis-

played all the verdure cemented in a rich entangled web, impervious to a single ray of the noonday sun. This grand awning was still enwreathed in folds by various plants of a migratory kind, and particularly by that sort of fibrous stem which resembles cable ropes. Ground palm, bamboo, and rattan, were now become very common.

A morass intersected the path at no great distance from Fooso, in which mud predominated more than water, and beyond this, at an hour's march, we crossed a little current of water flowing westward, and entered Yancomady. All that now remains of this village is a few Bamboo huts, the abodes of foresters; some palm and plantain trees choked up with the rank growth of cane and jungle were the only relics left of its plantations, or rather, in despite of the exterminating hand of war, they had again reared their heads above a surface of utter devastation. Some spots appeared in the neighbourhood where clusters of the largest trees had been subverted by the violence of tempests, thereby dragging in their descent a whole army of surrounding objects, or crushing into splinters those limbs which were incapable of sustaining the accumulated pressure until a sufficient bearing was gained on the barren wrecks of many trunks. Not unfrequently these threatening avalanches were suspended in various angular positions, supported only by numerous bands and links of forest cordage, entwined in friendly embraces amidst the branches, and round the trunks. The thermometer here stood at eighty-eight degrees in the shade.

Our path lay amidst clusters of ground palm, which grew on the brink of a romantic slope terminating on our right in a deep chasm. A few hundred paces from this we alighted at the Potessin, a rivulet whose current flowed to the W.NW. in a stream of ten or twelve feet broad, and united with the Soubin, tracking their course jointly to the Praa In half an hour more we arrived on the margin of a little rivulet called Ambama, and from this stream we came to the Soubin, flowing to the northward of west. As the evening approached

we crossed a little brook called Aniya, and from thence travelled by an agreeable path to Akomfody, where I had resolved to pass the night.

This also was a long journey, for the march was of nine hours duration in the whole; and in the course of that time, we traversed twenty-three miles of ground, although the true distance is no more than seventeen. The average course about N. NE.

The surface between Abandou and Akomfody is level, with the exception of a few slopes, and the chasm between Yancomady and the Potessin. A rich black loam frequently bordered the streams, and was occasionally found in a few marshy spots. Sometimes a fat unctuous marl was met with in extensive sheets: sand however predominated; and in place of the quartz, which abounds so greatly in the southern districts, nothing in the shape of a stone was discovered except a few small angular pieces of mica and granite. Certain spots emitted a corrupt effluvia blended more or less with the odour of decomposed vegetation and aromatic shrubs.

The hillocks formed by red ants were now rarely discovered; but the black ants were numerous and troublesome, the bite they inflicted occasioned a sharp burning heat. Nor are they less dreaded in the cultivated parts and even in the towns. The voracity with which they surprise their prey and assail him at all vulnerable points exceeds that of locusts, when they alight in a field of corn; for when once the attack is commenced, no bodily effort of the victim will avail him. Flight is generally impotent, unless it should lead him to a pool, when a natural instinct occasioned by the burning pain, induces him to plunge into the water. This kind of ant, say the Ashantees, is not only the plague of all other animals, but also of every class of their own species, and of the red ant in particular. If I may be indulged in a whimsical comparison, I will suggest a resemblance between these diminutive freebooters and the Arabs, who alike migratory, rove over the surface of the country, and establish a temporary residence where

it meets their views, often to the terror and in defiance of neighbouring towns. Thus the black ants in myriads will trace a particular course, and pursue that track in exact and thick embodied file, over an extent, perhaps of miles, until they fix upon a spot to their liking, where they erect little conical habitations, which may be said figuratively to bear a similitude to the Arabian tent, both in colour and form. The red ants, on the contrary, raise solid mounds of clay, which are cemented with a mucilaginous substance that binds the parts together in an indissoluble encrustation, and bids defiance to any violence short of the pick axe. The intrusion of the black ants is thus effectually prevented; but whenever their entrenched prey venture abroad, or are observed in repairing and augmenting their habitations, which they frequently do, a chase ensues, and thousands become the victims of their opponents, who sometimes force an entrance even into the nest itself. I was present once when a hillock was perforated in order to obtain what is commonly termed the queen, or mother ant, which is an unwieldy insect, two inches in length and one in circumference, formed in head and shoulders like the common ant, with a white body like that of a maggot. This insect resides in a separate cell, at the very foundation of the hillock, and is said to be gifted with such inexhaustible fecundity as to bring forth its myriads in daily and unceasing repetition. The act of cutting through the surface was laborious; but that effected, the earth crumbled as it usually does. The cells resembled those of the hornet, and were generally in diagonal rows, but without order or regularity. The labour was ultimately attended with success; in the discovery of the "queen mother." During the process the red ants fled in all directions; and vainly endeavoured to recover their cells, while they were assaulted by a troop of black ants, who in despite of a vigorous resistance devoured their prey on the spot, or carried it off between their nippers. The black ant, it is said, will fearlessly attack any animal, not exempting mankind; but particularly infants, whom they frequently

destroy and devour. The panther is not too strong for them to cope with, the rat is not too subtile, nor is the squirrel too active; vigilance and force are equally unavailing. They will even, as the Ashantees report, seek the abodes of serpents, and entering their holes, allow the reptile no chance of escaping. The hanging nests of small black ants were also very numerous in the trees, where, it would appear, they choose their abode as a security against attacks of the universal enemy.

Acomfody, formerly a village of moderate dimensions, now lies desolate like the rest, and is only remarkable for the few huts it contains. Its plantations are equally insignificant, so that all the refreshments we were able to procure amounted to a few unripe plantains. The huts were already occupied by a party of travellers; but this, as usual, produced no inconvenience to us, for they were speedily dislodged.

The fatigue of these marches had jaded even the negroes, several of whom were lame; and notwithstanding the general anxiety to keep pace with the mission, there were fifteen absentees as late in the evening as ten o'clock. That we suffered in an equal proportion may safely be concluded. We therefore sought our apartments, anticipating the benefit of repose; but in vain; for after I had retired to rest, and had just fallen into a profound slumber, I was roused by a confused noise, and a sensation resembling that of the pressure of a man's hand upon my face, and on the bed-clothes, as though some persons were about to attack me in that defenceless posture. Thus prepossessed I started out of bed, and immediately recognised screechings resembling those of the rat. This indeed confused, but did not satisfy me, so strongly did I imagine that an intruder had gained access in the dark. By the aid of lights which my attendants procured, I searched, but to no purpose, and while I was prevailed upon to discredit the suspicion I had formed, I took the round of the quarters, where all was confusion and uproar, from the same cause. Mr. Collins was employed in defending

himself with a stick against these vermin; and at Mr. Salmon's hut it was the same. Satisfied, now, of the reality of the nuisance, I again retired to seek repose, but in so doing was compelled to resort to the same weapon in defence of my person against hundreds of rats, who, if I attempted to lie down, ran indiscriminately over my face and body, in their nocturnal gambols. Thus finding it impossible to sleep, I at last relinquished the attempt. Even the Fantees were distressed in this *rat croom*.

Towards the dawn of morning I heard the cries of some wild animals, which the Ashantees described under the name of *youne*. They said it climbed the trees, and continued those cries throughout the night. From this description, I could not clearly discover to what genus it belonged; but subsequently I was shewn one at Coomassy, which was of the sloth family.

We left Akomfody at the hour of nine, and at the distance of a short mile, crossed a little rivulet running west of the Praa, whose name was Shambany; and, in two miles more, alighted near a little brook called Baraco, a branch, it is said, of the former. For three miles more, we travelled over an entangled thicket, that led to half-a-dozen deserted huts, surrounded by a moderate sized plantation; the name of this place is Dansansoo. Not a soul inhabited the spot, and except when occasionally tenanted by travellers and foresters, it is as desolate as the wilderness itself. The summits of some old vitrified walls were here and there perceptible, amidst a plat of withered jungle and cane. This village was also demolished by the Ashantees during the retreat of Cheebo and Apoutay.

From Dansansoo our route lay over the same mazy thicket. Many limbs and branches of trees lay scattered about, exhibiting another scene of recent violence, as if a current of wind had passed over this tract; an opinion that was strengthened by the numerous little swamps, and the quantity of moisture hereabouts.

Short of one mile and a half from Dansansoo we arrived at Me-

karen. This, likewise, was a wretched spot, consisting only of two or three hovels, encompassed by a little plantation; yet this, too, had been a populous place. A little distance beyond this, was a ravine that had the appearance of a water course; but its sandy bed was now dry. The surface was swampy, and overgrown with ground-palm, thicket, and small trees.

We were now in the neighbourhood of the Praa river. Hereabouts we fell in with a party of traders, and one of the king's sword-bearers. The slaves, to the number of twelve or fourteen, were loaded with many valuable teeth of ivory, also for the Dutch market. After a march of two miles and a half more we gained a glimpse of the water between the trees. A serpentine path, formed by a chasm, where the ridge was about forty feet perpendicular height, led down to the margin of the river, and here, after our guides had tried the depth of the stream, we crossed in a slanting course, under the lee-side of a bed of shelving rock, which stood near the centre. The water, at the ford, came up as high as the arm-pits; and on gaining the opposite shore, we climbed up a steep embankment, retracing the steps we had deviated from our true course. A little fetische house, which overlooks the river, invited our steps to the grateful shade of a cachou tree. Indeed, it is usual for the northern travellers to visit this spot, and make oblations to the river God, to whom the house is consecrated, before they presume to plunge into his stream. The house was built with upright poles, and wattled hurdles, lashed with twigs, and cemented together with clay; the roof was of palm.

The prospect of the landscape from this commanding point was really magnificent, but it was nevertheless a wilderness, and the knowledge of this limited the pleasures of imagination, in despite of its superb scenery, the fecundity of nature, and the fair bosom of a sheet of water that gave animation to the prospect. The gloomy forest to which we had been so long confined, presented itself to our view in a section, on the side from whence we came, whose northern limits were

laved by this beautiful stream meandering in a serpentine course from NE. to SW., until both extremes were lost in forest. The margin of the water was overgrown with a line of rank grass and flags, while the slope of the embankment was thickly covered by shrubbery, such as ground-palm, bamboo, rattan, sugar, and ground-cane, various species of the dwarf mimosas, besides a variety of unknown plants. The rays of a sun, now in his zenith, acting upon this mass of verdure, produced an animated tint in the different shades of green upon every shrub, and almost upon every leaf. The forest itself, frowning in awful majesty to the very verge of the embankment, formed a romantic back-ground, while the surface beneath was buried in darkness. To enumerate half the different species of vegetation is not in my power, for the greater part by far were unknown to me. Those which I recognised of the larger growth, were such as have been already mentioned. Ganyan, however, was a very conspicuous object on the opposite embankment. It is characteristic for this tree to shoot out fibrous tendrils from its branches, and these are prolongated in the growth, until they strike into the earth in various postures, although generally perpendicular.

The smaller trees and shrubs, besides bamboo, rattan, and common cane, were Guava bush, in limited quantity, indigo, umbrella trees, dying woods, erasma, cocoa, male and female, migratory and stationary vines, wild fig, aloe, tamarind, &c.

The surface here was a rich clay, free from pebble, and covered in the line of the ford with a bed of light sand. This river enters the sea at Chamah. It was at this time about the breadth of the Thames at Richmond, and the current, which varies, on account of the freshes that occasionally augment the stream, ran about four knots. The annexed plate is engraved from a sketch I took on the spot. Mr. Bowdich, in acknowledging his failure in an attempt at copying the natural beauties of the scene, perhaps with reason declares, that it would baffle the skill of any artist to depict "the life of its beauty," except a Claude, or a Wilson. Without questioning the truth of this, I hope my presump-

tion may meet with indulgence, as I trust it will, when I declare that with a limited knowledge of the art, I attempted the sketch from private and not public motives. It may be considered, therefore, as the outlines of a landscape where the objects are represented as nature has stationed them, rather than as an attempt at pourtraying the *animation of vegetable life.*

Having indulged a sufficient time in the contemplation of these rural beauties, we resumed the journey over what now appeared to us a delightful path, and which, indeed, was open, and wide enough in some places to allow six or seven men to walk abreast. The barbarism of the southern forest appeared every where to be softened into features of a milder aspect, and it seemed as though our toils were comparatively at an end.

At a short half mile from the river, we entered the town of Prassoo through a clean broad avenue, which separated the houses into two nearly equal sections. Decency now required me to conceal my tattered apparel (for deplorably torn it was) from public gaze. I therefore wrapped myself in a cloak, and walked to the house of the Caboceer. This chief, a little emaciated old man, whose name was Awado, received me with much ceremony; but, as I then thought, little civility. In retiring I was, however, better satisfied with the good-natured countenances of a few scores of spectators, who were waiting to obtain a glimpse of white men.

From the Praa southward, the progress of the sword down to the very margin of the sea may be traced by mouldering ruins, desolated plantations, and osseous relics: such are the traits of negro ferocity. The inhabitants, whether Assins or Fantees, whose youth and beauty exempted them from slaughter on the spot, were only reserved to grace a triumph in the metropolis of their conquerors, where they were again subject to a scrutiny which finally awarded the destiny of sacrifice or bondage; few or none were left behind to mourn over their slaughtered friends, or the catastrophe of their unhappy country.

Prassoo, or Praa Assou, is a name derived from the proximity of this town to the river Praa. In magnitude it cannot be compared with the superior class of towns, yet it covers a great extent of ground; its main street being about two furlongs in length, broad, clean, and regularly formed. This street cuts through the village at right angles, and intersects a number of little lanes and passages formed by rows of houses, which are closely erected, although generally detached from each other by a space of several feet. Many of these vacancies were enclosed by hurdles and fences of bamboo, of an unsightly construction. The generality of houses were rather superior to those we had seen at Doonqua. The habitations of some were washed on the outsides with a bluish clay, which, from exposure to the sun and atmosphere, had faded to a dirty white, recalling by an effort of the imagination what had been reported by Mr. Bowdich, of Ashantee, "architecture." But the far greater proportion of the houses were formed simply with hurdles, plastered over with clay, the common soil of the country, and some of hurdles and thatch only.

The population of Prassoo is stated to be about nine thousand souls. The town does not lay claim to any very great antiquity, and may be said still to enjoy the infancy of its growth. It is surrounded by luxurious plantations of plantain trees, and some detached spots for the cultivation of maize.

Leaving Prassoo, we entered an open path which we pursued for another short half mile, and entered Kikiwhary long before the sun had run his course. Our reception by the spectators was courteous and gratifying, for every countenance testified joy. I dispatched a complimentary message to the *deputy* Caboceer, and, as it was my intention to pass the night in the town, I alighted under a spreading tree, while the captain of the escort selected appropriate quarters. After a short absence, he returned and conducted us to a neat little house, containing four apartments of convenient size. Our first calls, it may be well supposed, were for food, particularly flesh, which we

had been so long deprived of. In the interim, I received a very acceptable present of a sheep, some bread, and plantains, from the Caboceer of Prassoo. The deputy Caboceer and some of the town's-people waited upon me with congratulations.

In the cool of the evening I walked over the town, and was every where greeted with the most cordial and respectful welcome. A number of children of both sexes, and some adults followed me at a reserved distance, gratifying their curiosity without intrusion, and flying as I approached, when occasion required to retrace my steps. To me the scene conveyed infinite pleasure from a retrospective contrast with the more northern regions of this vast continent, where I have travelled among strangers, from whom I have, on similar occasions, experienced insult and hostility. The natives, however, were observed to scowl at the Fantees, with a malignancy, which, at first, I could not satisfactorily account for.

The town of Kikiwhary is considerably larger than that of Prassoo, and its inhabitants proportionately numerous. The population of the place is said to exceed fourteen thousand. The etymology of the word Kikiwhary is, *take heart*, or resolution, a name which is not uncommon to other towns of the kingdom. It is said, that the present town stands on the scite of a very extensive city, which was destroyed some ages back by an irruption of the tribes of Dagomba. Like Prassoo, it is characterised by one main street, separating the houses into two sections, and intersecting at right angles a number of avenues. The houses, which resemble in construction those of Prassoo, consist of various classes, from the quadrangular building down to the common bamboo hut. The white clay washed walls generally distinguish the habitations of the wealthy; but they are not numerous. As the apartments are all either upon the ground floor, or elevated only two or three feet above the natural surface, the roofs are necessarily the most conspicuous features in the *coup d'œil* of an African town. The interior compartments of the best houses are furnished in a style corresponding with the simplicity of

African wants; two or three wooden stools, some earthen pots for culinary purposes, cane mats, a water jar, and a lamp, constructed of brass or clay, comprize all the utensils of the far greater portion of the inhabitants; while many of the houses of officers high in rank, are adorned with large wooden drums, and horns decorated with sculls and jaw bones.

The government of Kikiwhary, like that of other towns, is vested in a Caboceer and Council of Elders. This chief, whose name is Akassy, was at this time absent. He was formerly a captain of that part of Assin, governed by Amoo, and had, at the early part of the contest with Ashantee, espoused the politics of the king. Akassy was deputed to accompany the embassy to Cape Coast, as representative of Assin, to discuss individual claims and private losses.

The complaints of the inhabitants of this town were, indeed, serious; for it appeared that some of their people, to the number of about sixty, had been *panyard;* or, in other words, seized, together with their trading property, and sold by the Fantees at different stations on the coast to slaving ships, while the king was absent in Gaman. Report conveyed to me the murmurings of several families, who alleged their participation in the injury; and the execrations which were lavished upon the Fantees taught them, betimes, to limit their rambles.

This day's journey was nine miles and a half, horizontal distance; and the average of a long list of courses gave NW. and by N. On the banks of the Praa, the thermometer, at one o'clock, P. M. gave eighty-seven degrees in the shade, and again at three o'clock, it was as high as ninety degrees in my apartment, at Kikiwhary.

The quarters were continually surrounded by spectators, chiefly women and children, whose anxiety to gain a glimpse of our persons was occasionally checked by an impulse of terror when we approached them. The smiling countenances which graced these beauties, convinced me that their destiny was a happier one than the generality of their sex enjoy in Fantee. Their lascivious glances, accompanied by signs, which could not be misconstrued, convinced me also that these ladies, however superior

to the Fantees, participated with them in a certain failing. I was, besides, assured that many of the wives and daughters of men in power, were employed in the way of traffic, to practise the seductive charms of beauty, to inveigle the impassioned and unwary of the other sex, in order to create a palaver, which commonly terminated in fines or slavery. When the slave trade was legalized on the coast, it was a usual mode of entrapping youth, and those who were incapable of redeeming their persons from bondage, suffered the severity of this pernicious law, and were in most cases sold in the public markets for exportation to the West Indies.

About ten o'clock on the seventeenth, I bade farewell to Kikiwhary, pursuing a path, which for the first two or three miles, inclined very much to the westward of north; now and then it was rugged, and overgrown with briers and underwood. The Ading rivulet, an inconsiderable stream, whose current ran to the S. SE. at this distance, held on a course to the Praa, where it united near the ford. The water did not exceed a foot in depth, and twelve feet would have measured the breadth of the stream; yet during the rains its tributary waters were said to inundate large forest tracts hereabouts. Another stream called Ano, of less importance, flowed easterly, and is said to connect itself with the Ading, from which it is separated by a small tract only. Hereabouts is also a clear open space of several acres in extent, surrounded by jungle and plantain trees. The name of this spot is Miassa, (not Animiaso, as Mr. Bowdich has spelt it, and which is an amalgamation of both river and town) it was distinguished formerly for its great population, and when Assin was a tributary sovereignty it belonged to the first rank of towns. A few miserable inhabitants now occupy the land, where they have erected some habitations of bamboo and thatch. Their existence chiefly depends upon the traffic with Kikiwhary. Miassa was at one time deemed the capital city of Assin, but it owed its importance more to the seat of government, which was established here by Cheboo, than to any local

influence of its own. During the wars between Amoo and Cheboo, when the latter had suffered two defeats from his adversary; a third sanguinary conflict took place near this spot, which terminated in favour of the latter; and the utter destruction of Amoo's army followed the action. Amoo, however, escaped, and again fled to Coomassy to lay his complaint before the sovereign king. That monarch had employed many months in a fruitless negociation prior to the engagement, and having about this time received a cruel indignity in the person of an ambassador, he first formed the design of compelling the Assins to a state of unlimited submission.* Cheboo and Apoutay, however, assembled their forces in the vicinity of Miassa, with the resolution of giving battle to the Ashantees; but some disaffection among the Assin chiefs dispirited the troops, and treachery was supposed to have stirred up a powerful interest in favour of the enemy. The crisis approached which admitted the choice of only two alternatives, either to risk a battle on the spot, or resign that extensive tract of country north of the Praa, and retire to the left bank of the river. In this dilemma Cheboo chose the former, but in the hour of trial his courage was not competent to the task of meeting an enemy so proverbially terrific as the king of Ashantee. A few shots were exchanged at the onset, while Cheboo and a party of followers fled to the river. This decisive panic in the chief is said to have been occasioned by the desertion of several Caboceers, on the field of battle. Be this as it may, it is admitted on all hands, that here the Assins fled before an army which numerically did not amount to half its own force; although it was confessedly superior in organization, equipment, and resources. Slaughter followed in the rear, down to the margin of the river, where Cheboo and his friends learning the extent of their misfortunes, fled across the stream, and, whither the Ashantees had no inclination to pursue them, at that time. Miassa was razed to the foundation,

* Vide also Meredith's History of the Gold Coast.

thousands were put to the sword, and thousands sent into slavery in the more northern provinces of the empire. This event is celebrated by the Ashantee bards in an appropriate song, wherein it is recorded that a river of *perjured blood flowed from Miassa to the Praa, and propitiated the wrath of the river god.* Thousands of human victims were afterwards sacrificed in daily and nightly troops, at the little fetische house were we alighted; and the carcasses were cast into the river, in order, as the Ashantees affirm, that the glory and military prowess of their sovereign might be known throughout the land, as the current swept the bodies to the sea. Akassy, the Caboceer who now governs Kikiwhary, and a man named Quamina Abindou, both incurred the stigma of treachery; the latter was subsequently put to death for some embezzlement of the spoil.

The forest beyond Miassa relapses into its usual solitude, exhibiting also most of those stern beauties which are characteristic of the land south of the Praa. At a little distance beyond Miassa to the eastward, are several ruined villages, in particular one named Soubel between the Ano and Ading; other desolate spots of the same kind are scattered over the surrounding country, between the points of north and east, of which Oncro, Intoba, and Injany are the principal.

The paths leading to the plantations were still open, and occasionally frequented. Two miles more brought us to another open space, the relic of a large Assin croom called Saporgah; which is little better than a heap of ruins. Some solitary sheds occupied by foresters and palm wine collectors were the only objects that could interest the eye. The path was exceedingly obstructed by thicket and decayed logs, from this place until we arrived at the ruins of Tibiassa, another habitation, as the Ashantees affirmed, of the spirits who roam at night. Nothing but a few straggling ruins, embedded in jungle, remained; yet it was said to have been a place of importance. The little stream called Prensa crossed the path, at a very inconsiderable distance from Tibiassa, as it traced an easterly course to the Ano. The next

opening at the distance of a mile and a half more, was a moderate sized space occupied by some detached ruins, the relics of a town called Bequama, and near this spot the little rivulet called Prapong (or arm of the Praa) about seven yards in width and two or three feet in depth, pursued its southerly course to the Praa. We shaped a course along the bed of this stream to the distance of a hundred yards or more, and then quitted it at an angle formed by its westerly inclination. The path as we advanced rather improved, although the natural obstructions were still so great as to create delay. Four miles beyond the Prapong are the ruins of a town called Eshamah. A little village of modern construction, bearing the same name, stands on a slope which commands the ruins. The inhabitants, probably about fifty in number, obtain a precarious subsistence from their labours in the forest. These poor people were at this time absent, at their respective occupations, in hewing timber, and tapping palm trees for wine, with which they trade to Ansah. A few traders from Ashantee were reposing under the shade of some trees, in what might be called the market place.

Eshamah formerly enjoyed a moderate rank in Assin, and its population is said to have rivalled in numbers the inhabitants of Prassoo. It is remarkable for a sanguinary battle fought in its vicinity between Cheeboo and Amoo. Leaving the ruins of this place, we again penetrated the forest, and in the lapse of an hour entered Ansah about four P. M.

Drawn by I. Dupuis.
C. Williams Sc.
A Woman & Youth of Banna.
A Marowa Slave.

CHAPTER II.

PUBLIC RECEPTION AT ANSAH—DESCRIPTION OF AN ASSIN HOUSE—EFFECTS OF NEGRO WARFARE—STATE OF HEALTH OF THE PARTY—AKROFROOM—SUPERSTITION OF THE INHABITANTS WITH REGARD TO WHITE TRAVELLERS—BEASTS OF PREY—ELEPHANTS—MOISY—FRONTIER OF ASHANTEE—THE RIVER BOHMEN—SABLE NAIADS—CHUSAH—FOMANAH—DOOMPASSY—OFFERING TO A HOUSEHOLD GOD—DATCHASOO—MESSAGE FROM THE KING OF ASHANTEE—ADADWASY—AMOAFO—VISITS FROM THE KING'S SON AND DAUGHTER—BEQUA—ASSIMINIA—BOPOSSO—AGEMUM—SARASOO—PROCESS OF CLEARING LAND FOR CULTIVATION IN FANTEE AND BARBARY—FIRST SIGHT OF COOMASSY—PUBLIC RECEPTION BY THE KING—SPEECH OF THE KING OF BANNA—CEREMONIES—OBSERVATIONS ON THE JOURNEY AND CLIMATE.

DESOLATE as the land is on both sides of the Praa, with the exception only of Prassoo, Kikiwhary, and Ansah, I had, nevertheless, deemed it expedient, in support of my public character, to announce the approach of the mission with all becoming solemnity. A description of the ceremonies practised at Ansah, as they bear a relation to the usages elsewhere observed, may not be displeasing to the reader. The road-flag with which I travelled through the woods, and which was simply a small union-jack, was, on our approach to the town, dismissed to the rear, its place being supplied by a more brilliant suit of colours. Such of the escort as were in attendance joined in embodied ranks equal to the limits of the path, while one of my soldiers who had practised the bugle, blew a blast or two on that instrument, which, coupled with the shouts and songs of my attendants, never failed to

collect from the houses a numerous concourse of spectators, who, it may be said, strove in emulation to pay that respect to the British flag, and to white men, and Englishmen, which it was my pride to witness. At Ansah, every countenance was stamped with those genuine feelings of respectful admiration which it was my object to excite. Crowds followed us to our quarters, bestowing occasionally some flattering commendations upon the objects that interested their attention.

As the day declined, drums were beat and horns sounded throughout the town, to give notice to the chief and elders to assemble with their retainers, in the market-place, to receive the public visit they anticipated. On our side, I gave instructions to the officers to equip themselves in uniform, and the people to dress in clean apparel, &c. Thus arrayed, we sallied forth, at a sort of funeral pace, preceded by the colours. On turning an angle leading to the market-place, we were suddenly saluted by the beating of drums, but after awhile the discord ceased. The Caboceer, whose name was Coinin Akim, (deputy Viceroy of Assin under Amon Koitea) was encompassed by all the principal male inhabitants of the town, headed by their respective chieftains. An avenue between this mass of human beings was left sufficiently wide to permit us to approach in the order of single file; and through this space I advanced, touching hands with the Caboceer and the other chiefs, while a number of boys waved short scimeters, chopping bills, and swords, over my head, as they yelled out the "*strong names*" of their patron, descriptive of his rank, heroic achievements, &c.

At the conclusion of this ceremony our party retired to the shade of a tree, where, when we had taken our seats, the Assin chief and his party advanced in turn, preceded by the band of performers, whose overture was of a character still more inharmonious. Indeed the flutes and some of the smaller horns only, when they could be distinguished in the medley of sounds, softened to a degree of tolerance the harsh barbaric clamour. One instrument, resembling the horn of an

enormous buffalo, which was decorated with a profusion of human jaw-bones, uttered abrupt and incessant blasts of the most dismal howling that can be imagined. Others of similar dimensions ornamented with the like brutal trophies, produced a lengthened distressing tone, something resembling the moderate cry of hyenas. Some small elephants' teeth, hollowed into form, were rather more melodious, excepting when they chimed with the concert. The large drums were carried on the heads of men, and beaten in that posture; but the small ones were slung as kettle drums. These added to calabashes and gourds filled with shot or small stones, concave bits of iron, and striking sticks, will give an idea of the national taste in harmonic matters. As the chieftain advanced to take my hand, a number of parasites rushed before him holding their noses, as the custom is, and recapitulating his "*strong names*," with vociferous, and, as it would appear to a stranger, offensive intrusion; for these flatterers, notwithstanding they were gently pushed aside, returned to the charge as boisterously as before. On a sudden he burst from the crowd, and as he took me by the hand, perfect order and silence ensued.

The Caboceer was followed successively by the captains, elders, and ordinary class of inhabitants; but the latter did not presume to offer their hands for acceptance, a compliment which was expected by the Caboceer and chief officers only; all others were happy in being permitted to pass in the pompous line, to wave their hands, and pay the compliment of a welcome.

I had scarcely returned to the quarters when a file of men entered profusely laden with provisions. The present consisted of a sheep, a goat, a quantity of yams, eggs, fowls, plantains, and palm wine, besides fire-wood, cankey bread, sugar cane, and some honey in the comb. Indeed I never before witnessed hospitality, even among Mussulmen, who are religiously scrupulous of that virtue, equal to this, which in fact was a private present. My acknowledgments were accompanied by a trifling return of rum, and a piece of British manufactured cotton.

The plantations of plantains, yams, and cassada, are very extensive in the vicinity of Ansah, and large tracts of land were then in a state of preparation for the reception of grain. This, which is now the metropolis of Assin, is a large compact town full of houses and hovels of all classes, from the quadrangular inclosure of four, six, or eight apartments, to the small bamboo hut. The quarters assigned for the reception of the Mission belonged to a wealthy inhabitant, who, to accommodate us, was unceremoniously compelled to turn out, with his wives and children. As the house I occupied at Ansah is at least equal to some of the best in Coomassy and elsewhere, I shall digress a little in particularizing its "architecture" and conveniences. It was a square enclosure with a recess behind, forming two apartments, besides the four contained in the quadrangle itself. Opposite the door was a narrow passage, leading to the retired part of the building, and which the natives appropriate to the use of the women and juvenile branches of the family. The rooms were elevated two or three feet from the ground, and the ascent was marked by two steps, which, as well as the lower walls, were simply plastered with red clay, rudely sculptured indeed, but still with some regard to order. Little buttresses here and there surmounted with ornamental carving in "*alto relievo*" decorated the sides of the rooms, the dimensions of which were about nine feet by six or seven, and roofed with a sloping thatch of palm.

Ansah has also one broad street only, leading north and south through its centre. The avenues, or lanes, right and left, besides being of extreme narrow limits, exhibit a variety of unsightly obstructions. This place, having formerly been the seat of government of Amoo and the party attached to Ashantee interest, was respected during the war by the forces of the empire. Its population is estimated at twenty-four thousand souls.

Coinin Akim, it may be observed, besides his deputy viceroyalty of Assin, is also Caboceer over the desolate forests of Fantee; his jurisdiction extends from Moisy in the north, down to the sea-coast, and east-

ward from the province of Akim to the limits of Denkera. Akassy, the Caboceer of Kikiwhary, who supports a secondary dignity in Assin, governs all the adjacent towns and villages, as the representative of Coinin Akim, to whom he is immediately answerable.

It will not be deemed extraordinary, by those who are acquainted with African maxims and prejudices, that all Fantee, excepting the few towns on the coast, and the far greater portion of Assin should be found in the state I have described; the population extinct, the plantations more or less destroyed, and the forest relapsing to its original growth. In the wars of the negroes, a few of the subjugated are reserved to grace the victor's triumph; but slavery, or death, is most frequently their final doom. Little kingdoms have been thus annihilated, as in the case of Denkera, Akim, Warsaw, and many others, whose names have almost become obsolete. The importance of these dreary regions is, therefore, trifling, when compared with a surface of such extent; and particularly so, when it is considered that where a population amounting, it is supposed, to something between three and four millions occupied the districts of Fantee and Assin, the inhabitants now scarcely amount to as many hundred thousands, after the most liberal calculation, including even the Fantee towns on the sea side.

The march from Kikiwhary to Ansah was comparatively the most moderate and least fatiguing of any of our journeys. The Anana still flourished luxuriantly in the woods, and the bamboo and ground palm covered many acres, with a most impenetrable thicket. The high palm which towered here to an elevation rivalling the more gigantic productions of the earth, increased the wild beauty of the surrounding scenery, for this class had been rarely met with on the road.

The thermometer in the forest varied between the hours of ten and two, from eighty-one degrees to eighty-three. In our quarters at Ansah, at one o'clock, the quicksilver stood at eighty-seven, and two hours after sunset, sunk as low as seventy-seven.

From Kikiwhary to Ansah it is ten miles, horizontal distance, and the average of a long list of courses gave N. half W.

The health of the officers at this time was good, excepting that of Mr. Collins. In justice to the gentlemen who accompanied me, I ought to acknowledge the fortitude which marked their characters, and stifled every complaint, during a laborious course of service, and under circumstances not far removed from severe hardship.

The Ashantee guides or captains, belonging to my retinue, wished me to remain at Ansah, until the king should be apprised of my arrival; but, as I preferred a station nearer to the capital, I again issued orders to resume the journey in the morning.

Accordingly, on the 18th, I quitted this town, attended by a group of spectators, who, on the verge of the forest, exchanged a parting farewell, and returned to their homes. The umbrageous covering of the trees was again a grateful relief from the sensation of extreme heat. Within the compass of an hour's walk from Ansah, we crossed the bed of the Foum, a fine little rivulet running easterly, and uniting, it is said, with the Prapong and the Praa. The margin of this stream is profusely covered with a shrubbery of a beautiful character. The water, at this time, was knee deep, although the width of the channel could scarcely be more than three fathoms. At the distance of a mile and a quarter more, we came to the Parakom, another little rivulet, proportionate in dimensions to the Foum, of which it is a branch, and flowing at this part of its course in the same direction as the former. Another little stream intersected the path about half a mile beyond the Parakom, but was too unimportant to have a name.

The rustling of the branches above our heads, and a deeper gloom, combined with the distant sound of thunder, announced, about this time, an approaching tornado; but no rain fell. The thermometer sunk from eighty to seventy-six. At an early hour in the day, we arrived in the neighbourhood of Akrofroom, where a concourse of spectators had,

as usual, assembled, in the main avenue, to greet our entrance. At my request, the Caboceer, who had already set the gong-gongs at work, deferred the ceremonies of an interview, until the sun had sunk below the visible horizon (the tops of the adjacent trees.) The rights of hospitality were, in the meantime, lavished upon us with liberality, equal to what we had before experienced; and our quarters were stored with yams, cankey bread, cassada, eggs, oil, fuel, and a sheep. The distress I felt for the females, who resigned their apartments for our use, (some of whom had infants at their backs) was quickly removed by the cordial welcome that animated their looks. A superstitious belief was entertained by those to whom the lot of sheltering white men had fallen, that their lives in future would be prosperous. The house itself was passably well built in the form of one we occupied at Ansah, but superior in size and sculptural ornaments, both of red clay and grey.

The Caboceer, of this town, whose name was Tako Dooney, happened to be at Ansah, when we made a public entry there; after the ceremony there, he was dispatched, by Coinin Akim, to repeat the honours at his own government. As the sun declined, the jarring discord of drums, gong-gongs, &c. announced the assemblage in the market-place. It will be unnecessary, however, to relate a ceremony, which did not materially differ from what has been described at Ansah. The parasites of this chief, it may, however, be told, desisted sooner, and were not quite so outrageously indecorous as those of Coinin Akim.

My people now fared sumptuously, yet there were ten men on the sick list, besides as many more lame or bruised; several of whom were in a state requiring rest, as well as wholesome food; but as our journies henceforward were likely to be short ones, I did not think proper to detain the mission; although my own servants were both incapable of exertion, one from the Guinea worm and fever, and the other from severe lameness.

Akrofroom covers a large tract of land, and is built in a straggling manner. It is not so large as Ansah, and its population is numerically

inferior. The avenues intersecting the main street east and west, like all others of the class, are either exceedingly confined, or, where the space is more than sufficient to accommodate one or two passengers abreast, the waste ground is generally appropriated to the reception of offal, dirt, and rubbish; which, as in that part of the city of Morocco inhabited by the Israelites, accumulates from time to time into little mounds, or hillocks, sufficiently elevated to afford a prospect over the walls and even the roofs of low built houses. The main street, however, is exempt from these nuisances, and the market places, both here and elsewhere, are never polluted by dirt or litter of any description. The favourable impression of Ashantee cleanliness, was checked by the exposure of nuisances in bye streets, in the environs of the town, and the backs of the houses, where it became difficult to select a foot way free from excrement and filth. Yet decency in compliance with natural calls was not by any means unobserved by the inhabitants, who erect sylvan temples in retired spots, at the outer boundary of the plantations, by excavating the earth, and erecting a platform on the upper surface, or by placing a number of fallen trees in parallel positions.

The number of small ill-constructed hovels at Akrofroom probably exceeded the more commodious buildings as fifty to one; and the grey clay plaster, or wash, here, indicated no distinction between rich or poor, master or slave. The plantations, however, are extensive, and yield more than sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants; yet those of corn are very limited even here, although the population is estimated at eighteen thousand souls.

At the distance of one day's journey and a half westward, are the ruins of a large town called Boyabo, formerly the seat of Apoutey's government. The average course from Ansah to Akrofroom was N. NW. the distance amounted to eight miles and a quarter, horizontally computed.

We quitted this place on the following day, the nineteenth. The

path in its vicinity is broad and open, but this is characteristic only of the first half furlong, beyond which the forest relapses to its usual form and aspect.

This tract is said to be occasionally infested by the superior beasts of prey, such as lions, panthers and leopards; but none of these animals met our sight, nor had we ever distinguished their cries, although we were frequently disturbed by the plaintive screechings of the sloth, and the howling of hyenas, jackalls, &c. Amidst the boughs of a kind of cedar, I noticed several grey squirrels, who regarded my approach with great indifference. Here also, some of the party picked up a good number of quills that seemed to have belonged to a porcupine of the largest size.

At no great distance from Akrofroom we again fell in with the Prakoom rivulet, as at this time it swept to the west of south. On the opposite bank the path was open, leading over a thick bed of loose sand that covered the surrounding surface. Many lofty trees, and some of the smaller sorts of shrubs, were sapless and barren, with naked limbs and blighted foliage.

In the midst of a thicket, at the distance of four miles from Ansah, an elephant's tooth of moderate size was discovered; but the enamel being cracked into gashes, it was deemed of little or no value. It is affirmed by the Ashantees that elephants never herd in these forests, although very frequently stragglers are shot on this parallel as also on the confines, two journies north of Coomassy. Yet these wanderers are young, and as my informer described it, "foolish." The old elephants herd in Banna, Coransah, and some in Bouromy; they are numerous only in Sarem.

We shortly arrived at a little stream shaping a course to the S.SW.; another of the same size, and running in the same direction, intersected the path a quarter of a mile beyond this; but they were both unimportant and nameless. At the end of ten miles (by the path) we discovered a gap that admitted the cheerful light of day, the surface of

which was, as usual, covered with jungle and rank weeds. We were now in the vicinity of Moisy, a small croom on the frontier of Assin, and which we entered about noon, but made no stay there.

This village, like other places of greater importance, can claim but one avenue deserving the name of a street, although it has several leading to the huts in the back ground. It is inhabited principally by mechanics, as weavers, potters, smiths, &c. and may be called a place of wretchedness; yet it is notorious for excellent palm wine, and a superior growth of cotton. The habitations, even in the main street, are mean, notwithstanding the grey clay wash and plaster are more commonly in use here than elsewhere. The main avenue terminated in a pretty shrubbery, whose limits stretched away to the neighbouring plantations. Through this we journied some hundred paces until the little rivulet Bohmen, which sparkled in the front, gave notice of our approach to the hilly barrier that separates Ashantee, properly so called, from the province of Assin. The stragglers being numerous at this time, I thought fit to alight on the margin of the stream. My guides, (the Ashantee captains Ado and Quako,) were the first who approached, and with anger in their countenances, reprobated the conduct of the Caboceer, at Moisy, in not having prepared the honours due to a public reception. "He will lose his head for this neglect," added they, uniting their voices, "for we must tell the king the truth." I vindicated the unfortunate chief, by alledging my disinclination to alight. It mattered not, was the reply, the Caboceer alone was to blame, because the most positive orders had been given by Coinin Akim, that he should assemble the townsmen to greet me in passing.

We stood in need of rest, and as the hills lay exactly on the opposite bank of the stream, I delayed prosecuting the journey to give time for the people to recruit their strength. Our weariness was, indeed, universal, and we reposed in sullen lassitude on the margin of the romantic Bohmen; the river, according to Mr. Bowdich's informa-

tion, so gifted by Providence, as to deserve the name of the "*Water of Eloquence.*" The fairy virtue of this stream recurring to my memory, I demanded a calabash of water. In short, its efficacy was put to the trial, by many who required to slake their thirst, and be it recorded, failed in working its usual miracle. These symptoms of lassitude and silence were, however, quickly interrupted, by the arrival of a large pot of palm wine, and a message of exculpation from the Caboceer, who extenuated his neglect by alledging that he had expected me to have slept in town, rather than crossed the mountains that afternoon. The wine was of a growth recommended by the Ashantees as particularly nourishing and grateful to the palate, and was, they said, the best in the kingdom. But it did not need many encomiums, so acceptable was this description of beverage. Indeed, the far-famed excellence of the "Water of Eloquence" itself, would bear no competition with the wine. Its invigorating powers won it the palm of supremacy, without a single dissenting voice, for the faculty of speech which before was chained up within us, resumed its function with an effort powerful enough to banish the memory of past fatigue.

Upon making enquiries of the Ashantees, respecting the alledged virtue of the water, I had some difficulty in persuading them that it was a serious question. When assured of that fact, they declared they knew the water to be sweet, and, perhaps, it was good for sick people; but they did not know that it was capable of prompting speech, nor did they ever hear that it was visited on that account by parties of their countrymen.

The Bohmen is a very inconsiderable upland stream, gliding in its descent, between the vallies of Moisy, and slanting in its course to the southward of west, until it connects its waters with those of the Prakoom. It is almost embowered in shrubbery, overtopped by high trees, whose branches locking together in each others embraces, give it, in imagination, the semblance of a fairy grot; for its bed is studded with brilliant little rocks, and shelving slabs of granite, iron stone, and mica, mixed

with clear white sand, and yellow gravel, glittering, as it may be said, poetically, with a golden refulgence, where the meridian sun-beam here and there penetrated the vegetable arch.

Romantic as this may be pronounced, it was something heightened in effect as we crossed the rivulet, by the appearance of a party of women and young girls, skipping over the rocks, and laving their limbs inthe current; but, for whose jetty complexions, the fancy might in reality have conceited them a group of Naiads. Nor were the nymphs of the African wilderness wanting to themselves in the decorum of the sex, for they modestly screened their persons amidst the foliage.

Immediately after this, we commenced ascending a lofty hill, at first by a gradual slope; but on a sudden it became abrupt, rugged, and washed into gullies. Huge pieces of rock, in overhanging precipices, opposed our steps, and as we were early compelled to clamber with hands and feet, our progress was attended with difficulty, and great physical exertion. The path, near the summit of the hill, was bare of its leafy canopy, and here the rays of the sun darted fiercely down upon a surface already scorched beyond a moderate glowing heat. This, added to the increased action of the vital organs, rendered our distress complete, and it was with incredible difficulty we journied up the acclivity, nearly a mile to the summit. * A contracted gap, or aperture on the left hand, afforded an indistinct prospect to the westward, of the top of another hill connected with this chain. It was, in truth, the greatest scope our eyes had been permitted to range over throughout the whole journey; and although the horizontal distance would barely have exceeded a mile and a half, its novelty was equally delightful and transitory.

Mr. Bowdich says, he observed several eminent points from this station, in the hope of being able to check his computed distance by paces. No such land marks were visible to me, or any eminence, ex-

* Our sufferings on this march were necessarily greater than what the former party endured, because we crossed this barrier at the time of the greatest daily heat, and after a moderate journey, whereas the others traversed it in the cool of the morning.

cepting the peak of the hill already described, the utility of which, for mathematical calculations, it was surely absurd to suggest; for the visionary glance was so imperfect, and the uniformity of its clothing so characteristic of the land throughout, that had it been perceptible a second time, (which it was not) I am convinced it would not have been recognized with any certainty.

For some hundreds of yards beyond the summit, it was a sort of table hill, gently incurvated with slopes and ridges. The sound of a waterfall on our left hand indicated, however, that the path lay over a precipitous ridge, terminating below in a deep valley. Yet the forest was so opaque, that nothing was visible (except the stems of trees) beyond the circumference of a few yards.

This chain of hills, according to native authority, commences on the north-west side of Bequa, from thence inclining easterly to Datiasso and Doompassy, where it forks off in two branches, the one leading NE. to the Echouy Lake, the other inclining south of east, through Assin and Akim, to Aquamboe, and the neighbourhood of Accra, where it unites to the chain that may be seen at the distance of twenty miles from the British fort at that place. The height of Moisy Hill may be about sixteen hundred feet perpendicular elevation. The north side of the hill is less steep and rugged, so that the descent is not attended with much inconvenience. A small ravine gave a passage to a little stream, flowing westerly with a rippling noise; but it was said to bear no name. The land beyond the hills is evidently much higher than that of Assin.

The sight of a patch of jungle indicated our approach to the first Ashantee village: this was a miserable place containing about thirty hovels, called Chusah, whose inhabitants lived by the trade in palm wine and nuts. The track over the hills is capricious, but the course, after having passed Chusah, inclines again north. We traversed the brink of a chasm or pit of great depth, said to have been excavated for gold; but latterly neglected, notwithstanding the mine was believed to be rich.

Three quarters of a mile beyond Chusah is Fomanah, another little village, containing about a hundred and fifty inhabitants. Mr. Bowdich's assertion, that Fomanah was once a very considerable town, is contradicted by the natives, who, while they admit that it was formerly more populous than at present, declare it always to have been a foresters' village, and a place of insignificance upon the frontiers. The Caboceer, who was seated in the main opening, very courteously tendered an offering of palm wine and eggs.

Beyond Fomanah for about half a mile, the path was good, exhibiting a clean swept surface, with burning stubble on each hand. Doompassy was now distant only an hour's march, and as we approached in sight of the town, the greetings of the spectators, who were numerous, indicated the utmost cordiality. The Caboceer, a middle aged man, named Soabin, received me very courteously in the market place, and in due formality conducted me to the house designed for my reception. It was a sort of double house, neatly constructed, and ornamented with the rude sculpture of the country. The family (one of the first rank in the place) were all employed in removing their utensils. The landlord politely told me it gave him pleasure to shelter white men, as it would bring upon him a blessing from the gods. The distance from Akofroom to Doompassy is eleven miles and a half horizontal distance; by the path it is nearly fifteen. The average course was north, inclining half a point to the west. Mr. Collins here suffered a relapse of fever.

Our journies, it may be seen, were comparatively rapid, and really so in such a country, for we generally travelled as long as the day-light lasted, excepting the two or three last stages. Our halt, however, at Doompassy was imperative, for many more were afflicted with lameness and inflammatory disorders, of which the Guinea-worm and boils were the most prevalent.

The tall and stunted palms form the most interesting, and the doom, mahogany, and silk cotton trees, the most majestic objects in the

neighbourhood of the plantations hereabouts. These, blended with fibrous and thorny plants capriciously threading the branches in festoons, or entwining in snaky wreaths round the trunks of trees, give that singularly wild aspect to vegetation in the torrid zone which, perhaps, is only to be witnessed within the limits of the first and second parallels of climate in continental Africa. The Anana still skirted the path, and a few cocoas both male and female, increased the variety. Among the plantations I discovered a grovelling sort of palmeta or small ground palm, called by the Arabs asha, whose fibres they interweave with goats' hair in the manufacture of their tents. Among the trees and shrubs of small growth were cotton in abundance, some indigo, coffee, arrow-root, and the gooro or war nut, a species of betel, which the natives masticate as they do in India.

Hyenas, civet cats, baboons, monkeys, porcupines, ant-eaters, wild hogs, sloths, and squirrels, are said to abound greatly, besides deer, in this part of the forest. An animal which, from description, answers to the cameleopard, it is affirmed, sometimes visits these regions, and there are many to be found both in Sarem and Ghunja; but they are sacred quadrupeds, and although they herd with the elephants, they are never destroyed by the hunters.

At this elevation from the sea coast, much is left behind of the gloom and solitude of one of the greatest wildernesses south of the Niger; but this impression originated perhaps in the knowledge, that although it was still a waste, it now contained the cheerful habitations of men.

A serpent, agreeing with the *constrictor* of the class I met with on the road to Doonqua, but larger, was said to be occasionally seen here; it was dreaded by the traveller more than either the lion or panther, and would attack men as well as the most powerful animals in the creation, the elephant only excepted.

Red ants were very rarely seen here or on the road; but others

were as numerous and troublesome as ever, a fact of which they gave us many painful proofs.

My guides suggested to me the propriety of halting a few days at these quarters, adding that they durst not approach nigher the capital, for fear of giving offence to the king, by permitting me to travel like a common messenger, and by approaching the court before the necessary arrangements were completed for my reception. I was prepared to stop a day, to allow time for the return of an express messenger I had sent to the king from Kikiwhary.

I was roused from sleep at a very early hour on the following morning, (the 20th,) by the entrance of a man, whom I discovered to be the proprietor of the house, with an offering for his tutelary god, and which he was about fixing to the sacred tree, at the door of my apartment. The tribute, which consisted of the legs and head of a white speckled fowl and a small calabash containing a little corn and plantain, steeped in a fluid looking like blood, was placed on the ground at the root of the tree; but afterward, the members were severed, and suspended by a piece of cotton-yarn upon one of the lower branches. Another calabash containing a blackish fluid, served to water the roots, by being poured upon the ground, as a libation, during the recital of certain mystical words in prayer. The ceremony concluded by washing the stem of the tree with a colouring, made from the white or grey clay. On the route, particularly in the vicinity of towns, these offerings were very common, and in some spots, on which superstition had stamped a particular veneration, a numerous collection of pots and pans, although commonly broken ones, were deposited with their tributes to the gods of the forests and highways. Like the Greeks and heathen tribes of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, the Ashantees, (who may rival or even excel the ancients in the practice of their orgies and rituals) provide their δειπνα, or highway suppers. Among the tribes of negroes hereabouts, they are, however, family offerings, and not public or national.

Doompassy, it is said, contains a population of fifteen thousand inhabitants. It has but one avenue deserving the name of a street, for those which intersect it, right and left, are only a confused number of openings of width barely sufficient to allow free ingress. Near the market-place are many decent-looking houses, of which the Caboceer's is by far the best. The plantations, which are flourishing and extensive, it would seem, are adequate to the supply of a population infinitely greater. Several large corn plats were enclosed, with tolerable fences of bamboo, to preserve the grain from the incursions of wild animals, and of pigs, which are here permitted to rove at liberty about the suburbs.

In the forenoon, I sent out a hunter, who, in less than two hours, returned successful from the chase, bringing with him a deer, of the antelope kind, a civet cat, and several birds.

The detention at Doompassy was particularly salutary to Mr. Collins. Mr. Salmon complained of the return of former symptoms, augmented, perhaps, by the passage over the hills. For my own part, I rapidly gained strength every journey, so that even at Doompassy, after a night's repose, I found myself in a state of health equal, perhaps, to the best I ever enjoyed in tropical Africa.

As the expected messenger had not yet returned, I gave instructions to renew the march on the 21st, to the great disappointment of my escort; but, as I hoped to meet the messenger on the road, I deemed it advisable to halt at a station more convenient to the capital.

At Doompassy, the thermometer, at eight A. M. stood at 81, at twelve, 86, and at seven P. M. 82, in the shade. In the evening, distant peals of thunder and a rustling breeze from the east denoted a tornado at no great distance, but no rain fell in the town.

The sick and lame were now twenty-three in number, of whom five were cases of so much severity, that I left them in charge of the Caboceer, with a supply of gold for their support, or to defray the expences of their burial. Many others, indeed, required rest, but they

were obstinately bent on going forward, rather than remaining unprotected in what they might conceive an enemy's country.

The inhabitants, as the bugle gave notice of our departure (on the 21st) flocked together in crowds, and with good-natured smiles bestowed their parting farewell.

A mile and a half beyond the town is a little current of water called Bahrein, running west, and a quarter of a mile beyond it is Carbouso, a croom equal in wretchedness to whatever the imagination may conceive of it. This we passed through, and beyond it the path was tolerably inviting, leading on to the village of Sanquanta, another little dirty croom, inhabited by forty or fifty families, who depend for their support upon the range of the forest.

Adjoining to Sanquanta, is a little brook, whose course S.SW. unites it to other little streams, that meander in the vallies of the hilly barrier and fall into the Prakoom. The name of this stream is Injouma. At the distance of a furlong, east from Sanquanta, is a large populous croom called Meduma. The discharge of musquets was distinctly heard in that direction. A little cross path to the westward led to a small village called Baramken. At an early hour, we entered Datchasoo, a town of some little importance, and took up quarters for the night in one of the best houses the place contained. This was a small enclosure, with four thatched rooms in a dirty and ruinous condition; but after a diligent search, it appeared that this habitation was superior to any other in the town.

Just at this crisis, two royal messengers arrived from Court, bearing congratulations on the part of the king, and a present of two and a half ounces of gold dust, enveloped in silk, a fat sheep, and an enormous sow. My own messenger returned with the royal messengers, who thus explained themselves:—"Sai (the king) hears you are come to see him, and it gives him pleasure; he therefore sends his compliments to let you know he will see your face on Monday (28th February) for that is a good (auspicious) day."

One of these messengers was a reverend looking negro, and a man high in rank; the other was a sword bearer, also high in office, and a vassal of Prince Adoom (the ambassador on the coast.) Having dismissed these people with suitable presents, they returned to say, that the king had ordered them to bear me company, and see that due respect was every where paid to the white men.

The sow, which, as I before said, was of an enormous size, was lashed by the legs to a bamboo pole, and had been transported, with great labour, on the shoulders of men.

From Doompassy to Datchasoo, it is short of six miles horizontal distance, or eight by the path. The average course by compass was N. NW. It is a straggling town containing about four or five hundred houses and hovels, most of which are in a very ruinous condition. The population is given at two thousand souls, who subsist by spinning, dying, and weaving of cotton, manufacturing pots, working in the forest, &c. The flourishing state of the plantations here, bespeaks a rank which must have belonged to former years. There were corn, yam, and cassada enclosures, some of them tolerably extensive; and, in short, the people did not appear to want the necessaries of life, although their domestic comforts seemed so very limited in other respects.

We had been visited during the night by troops of rats, whose gambols over the thatch threatened to renew the adventure at Akomfody.

On the 22d we left Datchasoo, launching into forest as before, but an order from Court having been issued to remove obstructions and sweep the paths, the inhabitants of Datchasoo were already occupied in that work, and a number of fires were kindled on the sides of the pathway. We travelled therefore at a brisk pace, occasionally passing over prostrate logs of the most gigantic classes of timber, where the fire had severed them into open breach, and others that were still in flames.

The slave population of each town and of both sexes, was employed in this work.

At half a mile distance from Datchasoo is a little croom called Ankoasy, containing about seventy hovels, a mile beyond which we entered a better looking place called Adadwasy. At half a furlong distance to the east is a town of considerable magnitude called Madjoury, whose population is rated at ten thousand.

The population of Adadwasy is said to exceed three thousand. The town is constructed with tolerable regularity, and a growth of very fine trees, of the class mimosa, flourished in the market place, affording an agreeable shade for refreshment. The plantations were extensive and in the highest perfection. Having passed a leisure hour on the spot, we renewed the march, followed by a body of spectators to the opposite confines of the forest. The land in the neighbourhood is rather more hilly, but the risings are in long slopes easy of ascent. Aquamasy was the next croom we entered, distant from Adadwasy about three quarters of a mile. This is likewise a decent village of foresters, potters, and weavers. Its plantation is not inferior to that at Adadwasy, although the population is scarcely half as numerous.

Passing a ravine, at the bottom of which flowed a little rivulet to the S.SW. of very inconsiderable dimensions, called Jonkaran, we came to a place where a few wretched habitations were buried in a mass of jungle. This village, if it may be dignified by that name, was called Safoo, and a little beyond it was another brook called Yanasee, running NW. At a mile and a half from this is a small croom named Coraman, here also is a larger rivulet called Dansaboo, with steep banks on both sides terminating in abrupt ridges. The water flowed in a gentle current to the west. In three quarters of an hour more we entered Amoafo, where I resolved to pass the night, and as it had been announced to me as a place of importance, I thought fit to renew the ceremonies usual on such occasions. We accordingly passed down the

main opening, and were conducted, after some formalities, to a very tolerable house, which had been evacuated for our accommodation by the family of a captain named Agado.

This journey was eight miles horizontal distance, the course N.

The curvature, or diagonal inclination of the path, if the reports of the Fantees may be credited, does not arise from natural causes, but is a political *ruse* of the sovereign to bewilder the faculties of the stranger, and create an exaggerated belief of the extent of the Ashantee dominions. This opinion is, however, ridiculed by the Ashantees, and I apprehend with justice, for the same rule could not possibly apply to the forests of Assin and Fantee, particularly in that dreary track between Mansue and the Praa; where the path, such as it is, appears to have been entirely neglected since the subjugation of the southern tribes.

Amoafo is a croom of the first class: it is a sort of military depôt, and has a governor of rank. Some of the houses are tolerably well constructed; but still the clay and bamboo hovels predominate, perhaps, here, in the proportion of twelve to one, in the leading street. The population is said to be upwards of seven thousand, many, however, were Gaman prisoners of war, the property of officers and soldiers in the army.

On the twenty-third, my second messenger returned from the capital, for ceremonious courtesy being the *sine qua non* of African diplomacy, I endeavoured to neglect none of those outward forms which are so well understood in private life. I was assured by the Caboceer that the streets in Coomassy were by a royal edict ordered to be cleansed in anticipation of my approach.

While the presents were housing, I received a visit from the king's son, a child about six years of age, who was brought to me by his nurse, and several guardians, besides a courtly little troop of slaves and playmates. The custom of Africa was not omitted even on this occasion, for the visit was attended with a present of fowls, vegetables

and wine. A suitable return in sugar highly gratified the infant prince, who, however, generously distributed a portion of the sweets among his juvenile companions. I was next honoured with a visit by a female member of the royal family, a daughter of the king, whose age was probably about ten years. The retinue of this young lady was as numerous as the former. A sugar offering to the princess, with the addition of a little rum to the attendants, introduced us to a familiar acquaintance at sight. The matrons endeavoured to win my notice to their ward, by intimating that she was very fond of white men's caresses; but her timidity gave a flat contradiction to the assertion. I endeavoured to soothe therefore, in language somewhat adapted to a female ear, but the compliments I paid were unaccountably appropriated by my auditresses to their own youth and beauty, or to other inclinations; for they assured me by way of reply, that although the princess was young, yet in a very few moons she would be ready to take to wife; and if I admired her, they had no doubt the king would give her to me. At the same time the old women, taking several of their youthful companions by the shoulders, introduced them in a circle, desiring me to select a favorite without scruple, and keep her as long as I thought fit.

On the 26th, I again resumed the journey, and at the distance of half a mile, crossed the Bequa path. This is a very large town about three miles westward of the spot. The first little croom on the northern track is Gabin, adjoining to which is a small stream running west, to the Souberry. The land hereabouts was swampy, and covered with thicket and jungle. Beyond the swamps is another superior little croom, named Benichas, which has a population of eight or nine hundred inhabitants. The village led on to the Souberry, a rivulet superior to the generality of little currents. Its course is to the southward of west, in a channel of the dimensions of twenty or thirty feet, and it is said to unite with the Foom.

Assiminia was now distant about a mile only, and this being a

town of some distinction, the usual formalities occurred in the market-place. The houses here, particularly those in the main avenue, are built with regularity, and may possibly rival the best in Kikiwhary, Ansah, or Doompassy. This appearance of comfort was also heightened by a number of beautiful trees in the market-place.

Assiminia is stated to contain from seven to eight thousand inhabitants. Its plantations encroach very extensively on the forest, and several large fields were, at this time, well fenced round in a state fit for the reception of corn and yams.

I delayed the march only to exchange compliments with the Caboceer, and supply our party with wine. The next croom we came to was Boposso, a mean dirty little place, seated on the top of a rising ground. The population could scarcely exceed a thousand souls, if so many.

A small stream intersected the path near Boposso, tracking a course westward, and a little beyond it we entered Agemum, a village of little more importance than the former. Yoko is the name of a third croom of this class, within the space of four miles; and short of a mile beyond Yoko, is a pretty considerable croom, named Abointem, containing it is said, three thousand inhabitants. Still, however, its construction was mean, nor did any of the houses here bespeak a rank superior to the ordinary class of crooms. A few hundred paces north of Abointem, a little rivulet called Bequa, which gives its name to the large town before-mentioned, flows to the S.SW. and falls into the Souberry. Two miles beyond the Bequa is Potaiga, a croom rather superior in construction to the others, and containing twelve hundred people. A mile and a half beyond this is Fuiasso, a croom rather smaller than Potaiga. Sarasoo was now distant but an easy walk, and we accordingly entered that village at an early hour. The horizontal distance from Amoafo to Sarasoo, is ten miles and a half, and the average course north half east.

The surface is of indurated high coloured clay, with now and then a scattering of iron ore, and white sand. In the vicinity of Yoko, were several very massive blocks of red and white granite. The high palm became more conspicuous as we approached the metropolis, and where a village, or open space, admitted a prospect of its upper limbs, added that beauty to the landscape which gives so much grandeur to the scenery of tropical Africa. The wild fig trees were still numerous, and some cassia, entwined with various aromatic shrubs, and the trees producing the kind of pepper called mallaguetta, or grains of paradise, were occasionally seen in the openings.

On the margin of the Souberin, and also near Potaiga, I noticed some large trees that yielded abundance of resinous gum in excretions of several pounds weight. In quality it was inflammable, like camphor, extremely light in weight, brittle, and emitting a strong odoriferous scent, not very unlike gum benjamin. I recognized also, that particular species of juniper, which produces the sandarach gum, and abundance of fine white soluble gum upon a kind of shrub, very nearly similar to the gum arabic tree. The genuine trees of these several classes named grassa, and tolh, by the Arabs, the former, a particular juniper, and the latter, what we term the gum arabic tree, were well known to me during frequent excursive tours in those districts of northern Africa, where they are indigenous. The soluble gum, which, for the sake of distinction, I shall term Arabic, is of the finest quality I ever saw, and is produced in crystalline globules, from the size of a pea to that of a small walnut.

This part of the forest abounds greatly in civet or musk cats, besides antelopes, ant-eaters, porcupines, wild hogs, sloths, squirrels, apes and monkeys. Some of the latter are exceedingly diminutive, and beautifully variegated with black and white stripes. Of the ape genus, the natives describe a species which inhabits the more eastern district, and walks erect, in which posture it will even attack armed

men. It is said also to ensnare women and young girls, whom it carries off to its recesses, and is so nimble as to render abortive every attempt at pursuit.

Sarasoo is a large compact village with one main opening, N. and S. dividing the houses into two masses. The plantations are extensive, and in an adjoining space were some small corn, yam, and cassada fields.

The difficulty of clearing spots, for the reception of grain, may well be imagined, where vegetation, both above and below the surface, is knit in such indissoluble bonds. In the Fantee country, where the produce of the earth is naturally dwarfish, and, generally speaking, does not exceed the elevation of common thickets, the process of clearing land is infinitely more arduous than in the northern parts of the Ashantee empire. The method which I have frequently seen employed in Fantee is as follows:—When a suitable spot has been selected, the slaves are directed to cut down the thicket, which is effected with the assistance of a small bill-hook, and without any immoderate labour. In the course of the operation, the few trees of a large growth are suffered to stand, after the amputation of their upper limbs. Besides those which are from necessity exempted, are also others which are suffered to remain from a religious veneration, and these are of various classes. The loppings of the boughs and thicket are then scattered over the surface in the most exposed situations, in order to dry up their sap and moisture. The reflected heat generally accomplishes this in two or three days, and the dried bush is then piled up in heaps, at regular distances, where it is fired and soon reduced to a burning pile, the ashes from which are scattered over the field as manure. At this stage of the process the preparatory labour is completed, for the plough is wholly unknown, nor would it be of any avail in such a matted soil. The spot thus prepared for the reception of grain, after the fall of the first rains, is planted with the assistance only of a small hoe, at orderly distances; but the land is never turned over, nor indeed do the natives

give themselves the trouble to grub up any of the roots, or the tendrils branching from them, or even to lop away the woody stubble that may obtrude above the surface.

In the more central parts of the kingdom, the features of the land render the process of clearing it infinitely more complicated and laborious, notwithstanding the method resorted to is the same. Here trees of more than ordinary dimensions must necessarily be rooted out, or felled with the thicket. The exempted trees are those which possess useful qualifications, such as the high and low palm, bamboo, tamarind, papa, cocoa, and some other kinds that yield valuable nuts. The sacred kinds of vegetation of every growth, are religiously respected, and suffered to exist; nor are they even mutilated like the trunks of those giant-like classes whose tops soar to the elevation of one hundred and thirty, and more feet, and whose ramifications are necessarily subjected to the operation, in order to admit a free circulation of air. The cumbersome growth of fibrous stems and vines, mixed with other plants of a watery nature, requires much labour in hacking to pieces and in removing. The time they take in drying augments the expence of the operation; but this accomplished, the process is simply as in Fantee.

In Mauritania and other parts of Barbary, as well in the Berreber lands as in those of the Arabs, I have seen tracts of many miles extent cleared externally from a covering of thicket in the course of a single day, simply by firing a quantity of stubble to windward in the dry season, when there is sufficient air to give action to the fire. The rapidity with which the crackling flames spread, is sometimes, although rarely, disastrous to those who may have wandered too far in attempting to cross to leeward of the body of fire. The thickets in these countries, however, abound in vegetation of an inflammable character, being chiefly composed of resinous trees, and dry combustible wood, whose kindling properties are increased by six or seven months' parching drought during the absence even of a single shower.

So far nature contributes to the labour of the Arab, and aids in the

transformation of a wilderness into a fair open field, or space richly manured with the still ignited embers. But what remains to be done before the ground is capable of cultivation must yet depend upon extreme bodily exertion. "The sweat of his brow," as it is sacredly written, must flow copiously ere that land can be rendered arable and fit for tillage. His labour indeed only commences at the stage where the toil of the negro has ceased, for every root and fibre must necessarily be dug from the bowels of the earth, before the plough can be made use of. Thus it would seem that Providence has duly portioned out the labours of the field; and the distribution of toil, whether it be caused by obstruction or sterility, will probably be found equal in all countries where waste land may be taken into cultivation.

Ceremonies were not wholly neglected during my stay at Sarasoo, but the nigher I approached to the metropolis the more deserted were the crooms by their Caboceers and the agents of government, who, by a mandate of the Sovereign, had been called in within the circumference of twenty or thirty miles, to add splendour to the Court, on the day appointed for my public entry. The deputies who governed in the absence of these chiefs being men of inferior rank, it was only necessary to exchange compliments with them by proxy, except when they met me in the market-place, or visited me in my quarters, which was usually the case.

The 27th was spent in tedious preparations, and in visiting the neighbourhood of the place. One of these excursions I directed to the Dah, a river that runs W. SW. at two or three hundred paces north of the town, from whence it tracks a course to the Souberin, with which it unites, and not with the Foom as Mr. Bowdich was informed. The width of the river was about fourteen yards, and the depth two or three feet at the crossing place. The Dah rises in Akeyah.

Sarasoo is said to contain eight thousand inhabitants, who for the most part are soldiers, slaves, and vassals, to Amon Koitea. Artificers,

however, are very numerous here, and the manufactures of cotton-cloths are of the superior order.

Our detention at Sarasoo afforded leisure to the invalids to rejoin the mission by slow stages; but, notwithstanding the general anxiety to do so, twelve were still absent, when the muster was made on the night of the 27th.

Early on the 28th, we crossed the Dah to a fine open path, that inclined over a bed of coarse and very white sand, extending from the river many hundred paces, and penetrating the forest as far as the eye could compass, right and left. Parties of travellers were no longer a novelty; we met many in the course of this morning journeying to and fro between the capital and the maritime towns, Cape Coast excepted. We passed a small croom two miles beyond the Dah, named Ayokoh, inhabited only by foresters. Numerous parties of natives, women, as well as men and boys, were briskly engaged, near the path, in lopping the boughs and enclosing some large tracks for the reception of maize and yams. Agogo is another croom of this class, and at a very inconsiderable distance from Ayokoh.

We were now, it may be said, in the immediate neighbourhood of Coomassy. A Court messenger met me on this path, with a complimentary enquiry after my health; and this man, being furnished with instructions from the king, conducted me to a little village, about a mile and a quarter SE. of the capital; the name of it was Ciry, a paltry little place, containing about seventy inhabitants; here the party alighted, and having exchanged road dresses for others suitable to the occasion, we prepared to move forward; but my palanquin, for which I once more exchanged the hammock, was so thoroughly dislocated, that it became necessary to secure the parts with lashings extracted from the forest: this accomplished, and the canopy being decorated with some gaudy yellow and red silk, produced a courtly African effect. Indeed, every man habited himself in his holiday apparel, and thus equipped, the

march was renewed in as close order as the path would admit of, serenaded by a vociferous chorus of the Fantees. Upon turning an angle, whereby two paths were connected, I was not a little surprised at coming directly in contact with a party of soldiers habited and armed in British costume, and headed by a white African (or, as it may be better understood, a white negro) dressed *en bourgeois*, with the exception only of a ponderous hat *en militaire*. These apish warriors, who formed a part of the king's body guard, fell into open ranks, and made some awkward movements with their musquets, accompanying each caricature evolution with a low submissive obeisance. They told me, that Sai had conferred the honour of sending their troop to escort me to his presence; a compliment which, perhaps, could not have been selected more judiciously. My own soldiers, however, were jealously inclined to preserve their station about my person; but this I opposed, from political courtesy, and therefore placed myself under the protection of the king's guard, stationing the Fantees in the van as an equivalent. In a quarter of an hour, we approached the swamp that environs the city on the south and east sides. Even here, under the very walls of the metropolis, the forest retained much of its characteristic gloom, and, excepting on the line of path, its thickets and entanglements; no change indicated an approach to a neighbourhood so highly populous as the metropolis of Ashantee. The swamp itself would have passed for any other of the same class in the wilderness. On the opposite margin of the water, a good number of the town's-people were stationed, waving to us, and inclining their bodies in salutation as they perceived they were observed. Several boys, who were here introduced to me by the Ashantees, as sons of their monarch, pushed in amidst the guard, and kept pace by the side of the palanquin.

A prospect of the capital (if such it may be called) at last opened in front of us; it was a partial glimpse, at the distance of twenty or thirty paces, of a few mud built hovels, surrounded in part by plantations, and some straggling walls of the same material, covering a contracted space gained from the adjacent waste. As soon as we arrived

at the outskirting houses, a portion of the city became visible; but its external aspect by no means promised any thing superior to the towns of Assin in general; and was, it must be told, foreign to those highly coloured plates and the description given to the world in Mr. Bowdich's work.

The street we entered was a broad convenient space enough, leading nearly in a direct line; north, to the Palace-gate; up this avenue we advanced through a crowd of spectators, of all ages and classes, and of both sexes. The clamorous songs of my people, as the procession moved on, joined to the novel sound of the bugle, appeared to animate every countenance with tumultuous joy, which was momentarily subdued only as a royal *blunderbuss salutation* burst full, as it may be expressed, in my face. The assemblage was too great to maintain an orderly deportment, and the soldiers were compelled to exert their authority to keep the people back. This, notwithstanding the commotion, was effected without difficulty, by flapping upon the ground small twigs of Bamboo, and sometimes striking the people lightly upon the legs.

My palanquin was on a sudden arrested in the main avenue by a deputation of Caboceers, who paid a formal congratulation on behalf of the king. It was Sai's desire, they added, that I should repair to the market place until the court assembled. Here, therefore, I alighted under the shade of some high trees, reposing for awhile from the scorching blaze of the sun, now about commencing his descent from the meridian. The atmosphere too, was in a manner stifled by the pressure of the multitude. A pause of twenty minutes sufficed for the approaching ceremony, and we again bent forward in orderly ranks to an angle that opened into the place of audience, from whence another salute was fired. A silence, however, like that of the forest, succeeded as the echoes died away; and as the smoke dispersed, the view was suddenly animated by assembled thousands in full costume, seated upon the ground in the form of an extensive semicircle, where the chiefs were distinguished from the commonalty by large floating

umbrellas or canopies, fabricated from cloth of various hues. These officers, only, were seated upon stools that elevated their heads just above those of their attendants. An avenue not wider than the footway in the forest, was the space allotted for walking in the line of chiefs, leading to the station where the king was seated. The etiquette was of a character corresponding with other ceremonies.

All the ostentatious trophies of negro splendour were emblazoned to view. Drums of every size, from five or six inches in length to the dimensions of as many feet, occasionally decorated with human relics, abounded in all directions; and in some (although few instances) the sculls of vanquished foemen, and strings of human teeth were glaringly exposed on the persons of the youthful captains. Ivory horns similarly ornamented, reed flutes, calabash rattles, and clanking bits of flat iron, composed the various bands in front of the Caboceers. The salutation, as heretofore, was accompanied by an impulsive grasp of the hand with each Caboceer of rank, and a waving motion afterwards in compliment to his friends, retainers, and slaves. In the act of approaching these peers of the Ashantee realm, the solemn stillness was invaded at intervals by the full chorus of each band, beating in rotation the peculiar adopted air, whereby each noble is known from his compeer.[1] A number of select young slaves, boys of fifteen or sixteen years old, stood before the war captains, and other chief officers, in the aspect of a guard of honour, waving short scimiters and knives, which they flourished in a threatening attitude. The deportment of the Caboceers was marked with gravity; not a smile nor a courtly glance illumined the asperity of their features, and the salutations were uttered in a low affected tone of voice. The crowd, however, did not consider themselves bound to imitate the dignified deportment of their lords: they breathed a welcome in the silent language of the features.

In turn the quarters of the Moslems opened to view, where about

three hundred people of that faith (including slaves) were seated round their Bashaw. No drums or warlike instruments of any kind were in the retinue of this chieftain, nor was the avenue leading to his person guarded by steel. A dignity and decorum of the soberest cast distinguished the followers of the prophet from the tumultuous din of Ashantee custom. Policy at this time forbade my giving the salutation in a language known to them; still the reception I met with was courteous but dignified.

The dress of these people corresponded better with the costume of Egypt or Tripoli, than it did with that of western Barbary; yet it was a medley of several nations; but the privileged classes were handsomely habited in robes of Turkish or Indian cut silk, called *cofatten*, trousers of native cotton, with turbans of the same, and a small body vest richly braided with silk twist. This was perhaps the prevailing mode of dress, but other fashions, not less graceful, denoted the foreign traders; and in some instances, it was a mixture of Indian and Turkish habits, in which the loose flowing shirts with long and broad sleeves, formed the whole attire. I recognized also the common dress of the Arabs and mountaineers of Atlas: this was simply a sort of tunic without sleeves, falling down to the knee, and called in Arabic *kussabi*. The chief, however, was a solitary instance of deviation from every national mode. This man, who was far advanced in years, was decorated in yellow damask robes, something of a theatrical cut, although rich in faded embroidery and braiding. A muslin turban, preposterously studded with pieces of looking glass, charms, bits of unwrought coral, and glass beads, enveloped his head, which was covered, besides, with a damask scarf that fell over his shoulders in many ample folds, and united with a cumbrous load of apparel of various colours.

A full share of reserve, not untinctured with fanaticism, appeared at first sight to distinguish the conduct of this follower of Mohammed's law. When I approached to receive his hand he hesitated, and in a

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Moslems of Dagombah and Salagha in the Costumes of their Countries

tone of low rapid utterance, recited those beautiful lines of the Koran, called al Fathiat.* The ceremony was novel, and courtly in the extreme; for in Morocco and other Mohammedan states, this form of introduction is only adopted on particular occasions, where the parties are both brethren of the same faith.

From the Mohammedan quarters I advanced towards those of the ministers, linguists, and other confidential officers in whom the king reposes trust. Their superior rank was conspicuous in the number of their attendants, in the superior construction of the enormous floating canopy, in the reiterated discordance of the bands of musical performers, and in personal decorations, consisting in general of a profusion of gold ornaments suspended from the wrist and ancle, to distinguish the favourites of Royalty.

At last I approached the avenue where the king was seated. The martial instruments surrounding the throne suddenly burst upon the hearing in heavy peals, and the household slaves advanced, flourishing their scimiters over my head with menacing violence. This threatening ceremony was directed with renovated vigour as I advanced to take the king's hand, but having as it were won the contested honour in the late struggle, my opponents quietly suffered me to enjoy the prize, for the *music* ceased, the guards retired from the presence, and I was quietly permitted to pay my respects. The king extended his hand with great

* بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله ربّ العلمين الرحمن الرحيم ملك يوم الدين اياك نعبد واياك نستعين &c.

"In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate. Glory be to God the Lord of the creation and the universe—the most merciful King of the day of Judgment. Thee do we worship and Thee do we supplicate. Direct us in the right way; in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious: not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who are ill directed."

The Lord's Prayer is certainly not more venerated by Christians than is the Fathiat of the Arabs by the worshippers of Islam, and hence it is selected as the standard for attesting public and private faith, or for any particular emergency in joy, tribulation, or doubt, between the interests and feelings of opposite parties.

complacency, yet with a dignity that created admiration and respect, for it was even more than national. The features of the monarch were placid, yet serious, with the exception of his eyes, which seemed rivetted in good-natured admiration, although they were not permitted to convey this feeling to the muscles of his face. The salutation murmured by the sovereign was re-echoed by an officer in attendance, and reported to me as follows: "Sai thanks the gods he sees you, and the other white men, and all your people."

The royal chair was a specimen of some ingenuity, yet the workmanship was rude. Its arms and legs were carved from the solid into grotesque forms, and embossed with little ornamental casts of gold. Several Caboceers in waiting were decorated with massive gold breast plates, chains of the same metal, and solid lumps of rock-gold, of the weight, perhaps, of a pound or more each. The royal messengers stood behind the sovereign, shouldering by the blades large crooked sabres, the emblems of their offices, and displaying the reversed hilts, cased in thin gold sheathing. In another position, at the back of the king's chair, a select few stood erect as guards, and were armed with common English muskets in gold casing, and habited in grotesque apparel, which consisted of a large helmet or plume of feathers of the Argus bird, sloping backward over the head, in form not very unlike those which, according to history, were worn by the inhabitants of America, and particularly in the empire of Mexico, by the warriors of that nation. In front of the plume was an arching pair of ram's horns, cased in gold, and attached by the centre to several charms and amulets, neatly sheathed in morocco leather. A scull-cap united the whole, and a long tiger's tail flowed down over a close-bodied jacket, that concealed every part but the arms, in a perfect mail of magical charms, also richly ornamented in gold, silver, or stained leather. A simple covering of cloth girded about the loins, fell half way down the thigh, and left the rest of the body bare. In addition to guns, the weapons and accoutrements of these officers were bows, and a quiver

Priests or Magicians of Ashantee invoking the National deities.

of poisoned arrows, suspended from the back by a belt, which at the same time supported the weight of a string of case-knives and a large powder pouch. The most ludicrous part of the equipment consisted in a large gold, silver, or iron bell, suspended by a rope that girded the loins, and overhung the posteriors, causing at every movement a dull tinkling sound, like the pasturing bells used in Spain. Over these bells were suspended gold or silver epaulettes of European fabrication, more or less tarnished. Some of the officers wore small turbans of silk taffety, or figured cotton and muslin; and beside were decently dressed in robes of various striped cotton, folded round the loins, and gracefully turned over the left shoulder, exactly as the Hayk or Alhayk, is worn by the Arabs of the western and southern deserts. The king was modestly habited in a large cloth or Hayk of figured cotton, cast off from both shoulders, and resting negligently in loose folds, upon the loins and thighs. From his naked shoulder was suspended a thick silk plait or cord, to which were attached a string of amulets cased in gold, silver, and silk. A massive gold chain encircled his waist, in the form of a zone, below the navel; and a variety of clumsy gold rings covered his fingers, thumbs, and toes. On the left knee he wore a bandage, or fillet of silk, and plaited weed, interwoven with gold beads and amulets, terminating in a tasteful tassel, that hung as low as the calf of the leg.

Monday being a day of religious importance, the king, I was privately informed, had been engaged in the forenoon in the rituals of his faith, and three human victims, in addition to cattle, had been offered to the favoured deities; but their lives, as I afterwards found, were already forfeited to the law. The chief priest, or, according to the phraseology of Cape Coast, the head fetische-man, occupied a position on one side of the throne, and was surrounded by a group of aged disciples, and youthful attendants, disfigured with stripes of white clay upon their faces, breasts and legs. In the midst rested an earthen

pot and a small box, containing, as it was imagined, relics, or offerings for the tutelary deities of majesty.

As I was about retiring, the king motioned with his hand to impede me, and by a significant nod indicated his wish that I should still remain. In the meantime, the other gentlemen who were following my steps and actions, came to the spot, and were in turn saluted by his Majesty with equal serenity, his eyes all the while rivetting themselves upon the persons and features of every stranger; while tranquillity beamed from a countenance that never even for a moment underwent the slightest alteration. At last I retired amidst renovated peals of drums, horns, rattles, and other mellifluous instruments of the kind.

As the position occupied by the king stood nearly in the centre of a large semi-circle, above a moiety of the ceremony was still in reserve. The king, or tributary chief of Banna, a monarch subordinate to the sovereign of Ashantee, happened to be at this time at Coomassy, and was stationed at no great distance from his liege lord. His retinue was splendid and numerous, comprising, besides his own people, several moslems of inferior rank, and their slaves. The vassal prince was simply attired in an African cloth, decorated with amulets, &c. sheathed in gold and the skins of beasts. Gold rings ornamented his fingers and toes, and little fillets of gold and aggry beads encircled the thick parts of each arm. The incessant din that occasionally reigned in all parts, naturally gave rise to a feeling of sincere contempt—disgust I may say, for the music of Ashantee, however grateful it would seem to have been to the auricular organs of Mr. Bowdich, whose harmonic taste is upon record in his work. The illustrious negro prince was seated upon a chair studded with silver coins, such as dollar and half dollar pieces, which were riveted against the frame work, none being permitted to sit enthroned in gold but the "King of Kings."

A warlike band, who guarded the person of this tributary, were martially habited in the skins of beasts, chiefly the hides of leopards,

and panthers; their weapons were bows and poisoned arrows, javelins, guns, sabres, clubs, and case-knives. Many were in a state of nudity, excepting the shim or girdle, three or four inches wide, that passed between the thighs, bracing round the lions and under the posteriors. Chieftains of rank, governors of provinces, and allies of the Ashantee empire, were next in order to the King of Banna, and the intervening space was occupied by caboceers, captains, and other officers of less note. At the expiration of two hours, I had the happiness to arrive at the extreme end of the crescent, where several of the king's ministers stood in waiting to receive and conduct me to a resting place: this was a spot of clear ground shaded on the margin by some tall trees.

After a suspense of some minutes duration, the renewed discord of drums, gong-gongs, &c. in full concert, announced a movement on the part of the court. The clamour became more and more general, and its effect, for an interval, deafening. The chiefs advanced at a tardy pace, followed in successive ranks by their vassal captains, personal attendants, and slaves, armed and equipped in their full military habits; some with iron chains suspended round the neck, others round the body in the form of a zone, while the men at arms, belonging to the household establishments of each Caboceer, brought up the rear in close embodied masses.

To prevent interruption, the leading ranks were compelled to use a moderate share of dispatch, and to induce this promptly, my guards armed themselves with palm boughs, which they flapped upon the ground, sometimes threatening, and at other times striking the twig on the naked legs of those who were too tardy in their movements. The principal performers in this discipline were the two captains, Ado and Quako, aided by the whole troop in British uniform. Yet some of the people were a little indignant at the harsh reception they met with, although the far greater part capered along in merry mood.

Chiefs of the first class now arrived on the spot, and saluted with courtesy; the reserve of a first introduction was banished from every

countenance. The band of each of these officers preceded the march, and was followed by a group of parasites, whose business it was to proclaim in boisterous songs the strong names of their masters. The bellowing of these heralds, the discordant din of war instruments, and the clamour of my guards produced a chaos of harsh sounds that would baffle the efforts of the pen to describe. The feelings of many of the caboceers, and especially those of a youthful deportment, were conspicuous, in defiance now and then of an affected serenity: their countenances from composure relaxed into smiles, and even a stifled laugh was more than once exacted by the persevering adulation of their attendants; but not wholly forgetful of what was due to their own dignity, they frequently affected displeasure at the unblushing flattery with which they were assailed. As it may not be uninteresting to the reader, I shall give the translation of one of these songs as my linguist interpreted it.

"Where shall we find such a warrior as the strong and beautiful Apacoo Kudjo, whose eyes are like the panther in fight? O great slave of the king, how you are beloved! your victories delight his ears. Who fought the Gamans and killed their Caboceer Adouai? Apacoo Kudjo! Where are the women and the gold? Apacoo Kudjo has them. He is a rich man; a mighty man! His enemies die when he is angry. He is invulnerable, his fetische (amulet) no man can look upon and live."

The evening began to close in apace, yet still the pageant displayed unbroken ranks, and no movement had yet taken place in the king's retinue. The Moslems, accompanied by their captains, and headed by the Bashaw under his canopy, advanced in order and gave the salutation with a decorum peculiarly korannic. No barbarous music, no osseous relics; no gambols of the war dance; no sycophants to sound poetic titles and achievements; even the courtly strut was softened down to a character modest and reserved. The contrast was thus favourable to education, and the superior rank of these people in the classes of African society could not be more pre-eminently contrasted.

As the king of Banna approached, he silenced his band and sycophants together, by an authoritative wave of the hand. Then advancing until he had gained a position exactly opposite to me, he snatched a scimiter from a youth in attendance, while his people formed a silent and distant circle. He then commenced an harangue, which, by progressive degrees, degenerated into the most furious utterance, associated with rapid and vehement gestures, and flourishings of his weapon, within two or three paces of my feet. The bystanders, during the pause, gave a respectful attention to the discourse, frequently sympathised in the feelings of the orator, and oftentimes used soothing epithets, while the very eye balls of the royal chief glanced with real, or affected malignity; and the foam spurted from his mouth as from that of an enraged maniac. At last he ceased speaking, and his countenance subsided into tranquillity, as he cast the scimiter upon the earth. His relaxed features even wore the semblance of a smile, while he held me by the hand, saluted and retired. The interruption gave no satisfaction to my guards, who, after this shadow of royalty was again fairly obscured in the crowd, applied their twigs very smartly to his peoples' shoulders and legs, in revenge for the detention, for we were by this time almost enveloped in darkness. The anxiety I felt to know the substance of the speech could not be gratified at the moment; but subsequently I minuted down the following particulars from the memory of the linguist, which I introduce in this place from its obvious connexion.

"Ashantees, who is there so great, so good as Sai? No where can you see such a king. He says, destroy this country,—and it is a desert; the people are killed with his shot and his powder. When he makes war, he is like the tiger. Can any one fight the tiger? How foolish, then, are those who say they hate this great king, and speak with arrogance; for if they cannot fight, what will become of them. They cannot go in the bush, (northwards) for there is my country, Coransa, Takimah, and Bouromy: all this belongs to Sai,

he is king over all the kings, and all the people, and his foot stands upon every one's neck. If they run to Adirai river, it is the king's fetische, and will kill them. They cannot pass Tando river. What then? there is only the sea. Will not that kill them too? You know I fight for the king; he is my master, and I love him. I fought with Dinkera (late king of Gaman) and he died, and the people died. If the king bid me make war on any country, I must obey; he is the master and I am the slave. If he desire me to go to Fantee, I swear the great oath, I will kill them all; I will cut up their bodies in pieces, and take out their hearts, and I will not let one live, because they are an insolent people. Now they hear Dinkera is dead, and they are frightened, and want to make a palaver between white men and the king, because they think he cannot then catch them. Is that reasonable? This white Caboceer comes up to talk the palaver. If he comes with truth in his heart, and with friendly intentions, it is well; but if he tries to deceive and dishonour the king, it cannot be suffered; and I shall kill all these people* and drink their blood, because they forget that they are the king's slaves," &c.

These particulars were repeated to me with evident reluctance, and under a promise of secrecy, as it was feared I might be offended, or the king himself be displeased; I learned, moreover, that this tributary had recently arrived at court, to claim his proportion of spoil from the sacking of Bontoko and Houraboh, the two capital cities of Gaman, which fell under the power of Ashantee, after the decisive battle that cost the life of the sovereign. The king of Banna had been extremely active during the campaign, particularly on one important occasion, when Dinkera, the king of Gaman, was on the point of gaining a decided advantage over his enemies. It was whispered that this ebullition arose out of circumstances connected with interest and

policy, in what regarded his situation at court and his expectations. A division of the unfortunate captives taken in the Gaman war had already occurred, when it appeared that four thousand seven hundred people of that nation, (men, women and children), were awarded to the king of Banna, as his share of living plunder. The gold palaver, or in other terms, the spoil of the enemy's government and towns, remained still in statu quo, subject to the award of the king of Ashantee; and although several conferences had taken place on the subject, yet each time the assembly had broken up without coming to a decision.

Several ministers and officers of high rank followed the petty sovereign, and darkness rapidly increased before there was a visible diminution in numbers. At last the ranks thinned; a few stragglers only came forward to warn me of the approach of the sovereign. On a sudden a number of blazing torches were seen in the distance, and a burst from the king's band announced his approach. Hitherto the preservation of our ranks had been attended with little difficulty, notwithstanding the tumultuous movements; but now I was to be initiated into a novel scene of regal splendour. By the time the foremost torches had advanced within fifty paces of the spot where I was seated, a most harsh discordance of yells, shouts, and howls, assailed the ears in a sudden peal, heightened by a re-animated burst of instruments. It naturally occurred to me that the impression was intended to paralyze the senses, by contributing to magnify the man of royalty. Thus ended a moment's reflection; for on a sudden my guards were forced by a rush of the king's guards, notwithstanding the most vigorous efforts they made to oppose the intruders. A rally was then made round my chair, to screen my person from the rude buffets of the warlike mob, but all efforts proved ineffectual, and another rush knocked over my seat, and almost threw me upon the earth. With some difficulty, aided by the bodily exertions of my friendly guard, who it appeared had suffered in an equal proportion, I recovered my feet, but with the temporary loss of sword and hat. The king's guards were now in the midst of our

party, some with large ivory horns and wooden drums, chiming together the most *excruciating* harmony I ever heard in my life; others with burning vegetable torches and crooked sabres, which they flourished in attitudes of defiance and threat; yet it was evident they wielded their weapons with caution. The other gentlemen were at this time separated from me, I knew not how far, and the noise and confusion were unabated. My soldiers at last rallied again, and by dint of main strength forced a passage through the crowd, and gained for me a more secure station behind a tree, where I met Messrs. Collins and Salmon, who had been swept away in the boisterous eddy, and had suffered as much jostling as myself. The torches threw a brilliant stream of light on all around, and increased the savage splendour of the scene. The king's canopy was already within a few paces of the spot, and still the buffetting continued; but at this time we were effectually relieved by the exertions of the guard, for the Fantees were appalled, and made no effort for themselves. A number of warriors bedecked with argus plumes, gold ornaments and bells, preceded the canopy; performing certain evolutions representing the invocations and inspirations blended in the war dance; twirling also their gold-mounted guns, and screaming in terrific transports. A gigantic negro followed in the train, bearing the execution stool, encrusted with gore, and howling the song of death. The heralds, (for I have too much respect for kingly rank to class them with the parasites of the captains), followed next, announcing the monarch's high titles and deeds in arms. The conquest of Fantee and Gaman were enumerated in the list; but it was remarkable that these royal *trumpeters* observed a greater decorum in their approaches to the person of the king. They did not press upon him rudely, and never presumed to venture under the canopy. Upon a given signal, while I was still compelled to use some exertion in maintaining my ground, the confusion subsided into a respectful silence. The king's canopy at the same time

stood before me, and this redoubtable monarch again appeared with the same unruffled aspect, and with features rather more relaxed than before. He gazed a few moments with a penetrating glance, as if contemplating the effect created by the first impressions. He then took me by the hand in the most affable manner, and pronounced a laconic welcome: after which he saluted the other gentlemen, and the Fantees, and immediately moved off the ground.

Some of the king's torch bearers were ordered to shew the way to the quarters. The king, it seemed, had allotted the house of prince Adoom for my separate use: thither I was conducted, and an adjacent house was appropriated to the joint use of the officers. I had scarcely crossed the threshold of the enclosure, before a party of slaves, headed by a captain, entered the place, loaded with a present from the king, of wine and honey, coupled with a complimentary enquiry whether I felt fatigued.

The building assigned for my use stood nearly opposite the palace, and consisted of two apartments thirteen feet long by seven in breadth, with a wall and fence, besides a long gallery or corridor, that served me as a sleeping place for guards and servants. Without the enclosure, opposite the entrance, was another recess belonging to the building, designed for the dispatch of public business. Rude as the fabric was, it was tolerably commodious, for the roof was well thatched, and the whole was perfectly secure against wind and rain, except when they happened to beat in the direction of the door-ways, or from the NE. Its architectural beauties may be classed with those of our own well thatched barns. It should be remembered, however, that under the torrid zone a barn is better suited to the climate, and certainly more adapted to the habits of the people than a more confined habitation would be. The annexed engraving is copied from a correct external view of the palace, representing that sort of hieroglyphical sculpture, in relief, which is characteristic of the style of decorating the houses of chieftains, and which, it would seem, Mr. Bowdich has so highly improved

upon. The foreground represents the etiquette of forwarding messages to the king. As the flag departs, some Ashantees are saluting it with discharges of musketry.

Thus terminated the journey from the sea coast to the capital of Ashantee, a tract which is formidable to the traveller, not as it regards distance, but from its natural obstructions. From Sarasoo to Coomassy the distance is six and a quarter horizontal miles, and the course north. The distance from Cape Coast to Coomassy, it will be seen, is rather short of one hundred and thirty-three miles horizontal; or one hundred and eighty-seven by the path.

As regards climate or atmosphere, the Gold Coast and places adjacent to the settlements, are more or less known to be unhealthy. But I will hazard an opinion that the countries inland are infinitely more salubrious, the air more pure, and the soil less humid and vaporous than at any station upon the Coast, between Cape Palmas and the Gaboon River. At Doonqua, at Mansue, and on the banks of the Praa, the temperature seldom varied much (except when tornados checked the heat), and the air was pure and exhilarating; for notwithstanding sickness tracked our steps from stage to stage through the wilderness, it must be allowed that the diseases of our party (unless, indeed, we include lassitude and lameness) were engendered at Cape Coast Castle. Mr. Collins and myself were more severely afflicted than the other Europeans; many of the natives laboured under attacks of fever, Guinea-worm, and inflammations; but it was clear to me that these distempers, and our own complaints also, were either the associates of our outset, or arose from the malignant germs which, lying torpid in the constitution, were stimulated, by exertion, into life. It would seem, however, that a country so intersected by watercourses, so humid and swampy, and withal so surcharged by forest trees and thickets, where noxious exhalations, oozing from the decay of vegetable substances, are likely to condense, could scarcely deserve the character I have given it for salubrity. Be this as it may, I leave it to others who are better able than myself to

Drawn by J. Bowen C. Williams Sc.

The Palace of Ouso Idoom the Kong's Nephew the Authors temporary residence at Coomassie.

A Specimen of Ashantee Sculpture.

account for apparent contradictions: I speak only of the reality of the fact, from personal experience, and the effect I witnessed on the constitutions of the party under my command. The deadly effluvia of African vapours are in general well known, for the rivers upon the western coasts of this continent have recorded but too many fatal proofs to leave the matter in any doubt. The Callebar, the Cameroon, the Logos, that of Sierra Leone, and the Gambia rivers, become the sepulchres of hecatombs of the human species. Whole ships' crews have even been ingulfed in these waters, and the assigned cause is the pestilential exhalations of the air. These facts it would be superfluous to question, as indeed it would be a difficult matter to refute them by force of argument. May it not, however, be enquired, whether local circumstances are not connected with these cruel calamities; whether these noisome vapours do not imbibe a mortal venom from the putrefaction of vegetables indigenous to the sea coast, or to a mixture between salt and fresh water? Where the mangrove (for instance) is found—and it is presumed that this is the case not only in the rivers above-named, but at the mouths of every petty stream in tropical Africa—the infection is considered more contaminating, more pernicious in quality, and its action more deadly in effect to the constitutions of Europeans.

In reference to this hypothesis, I shall only observe, that the mangrove was rarely or never seen inland, and that the waters of the rivers, with few exceptions, are limpid, and sweet flavoured. I conceive, therefore, that the dry season of Ashantee is, beyond a doubt, equal in salubrity to what is experienced in any tropical country; and that the climate itself is superior to that of the Guinea Coast; and particularly so during those seasons of rain, mist, and earthy exhalations which prevail for eight months out of the twelve.

CHAPTER III.

COMMENCEMENT OF NEGOTIATIONS.

AUDIENCE OF THE KING—OBJECTS OF THE MISSION—DELIVERY OF PRESENTS—THE OATH OF FRIENDSHIP AND ALLIANCE TAKEN BY THE KING AND PRINCIPAL CHIEFS AND OFFICERS — INSPECTION OF THE PRESENTS, AND EFFECT PRODUCED—VISITS FROM THE ASHANTEE MOSLEMS—VIOLATION OF MOHAMMEDAN LAW—STATE OF RELIGION IN ASHANTEE — CHARACTERS OF THE CABOCEERS — SECOND AUDIENCE OF THE KING — HIS IDEAS OF EUROPE—HIS PRESENTS—VISIT FROM MANDINGO MOSLEMS—INTERRUPTION BY ADO QUAMINA—DISPUTE AND RECONCILIATION WITH HIM—MISCONDUCT OF THE FANTEES—THIRD AUDIENCE—PROSPECT OF AN AMICABLE CONCLUSION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS—PRESENTS TO THE GREAT MEN.

On the morning of the 29th of February, I received a message from the king to the following purport:—"The king sends his compliments to you, and says, good morning. He wishes to see you when all his great captains are assembled." Upon this notice, I gave instructions for the officers to be in readiness, and to assemble the people. At ten o'clock, an extra guard of honour was in attendance at the outer gate, to escort the mission to the presence of the sovereign.

Upon arriving at the spot where the king was seated, a discordant peal of drums and horns burst out with a deafening clamour; but these sounds soon died away, and were succeeded by a silence uninterrupted even by a whisper. The monarch of Ashantee was enthroned in his state chair, under a large cotton canopy, ornamented with pieces of red cloth; and his ministers and captains surrounded his person.

Three or four guards only stood behind the chair, with musquets, and a number of priests were seated upon the ground to the left of the monarch. In the front, to a considerable distance right and left, the eye wandered over the heads of a crowded assemblage of chiefs of all ranks, mingled with their respective vassals. An avenue was left in this mass of human beings, just sufficiently capacious to admit ingress to the king; and through this passage I advanced. Our salutation was courteous: the king particularly enquired about the health of the officers, &c. I opened the business of the mission in terms of the following import.*

"The king of England, whose servant I am, salutes the king of Ashantee in peace; and salutes all the great captains, his friends, and his people. The king of England, one of the greatest monarchs of the whites, having heard, by the return of some of his officers, who visited Coomassy three years back, that the king of Ashantee had received them with respect, and loaded them with kindness, rejoiced to think that the king was a friend. This induced him to make an acknowledgment, such as it was hoped would be agreeable to his majesty. He has, therefore, been pleased to appoint me the bearer of his sentiments; in token of which, I am entrusted with a present to deliver to the king of Ashantee. The king of England knew the king of Ashantee from his wars on the sea coast, long before his people visited Coomassy; but he did not know until that event, that his majesty was more less respected for his hospitable treatment of strangers, than renowned as a warrior. Influenced by these feelings, the king, my master, as a friend, earnestly invites the king of Ashantee to cultivate peace between the nations, and to assist him in encouraging a trade that would be productive of good to the country, and benefit the

* It is requisite to observe, that throughout the negotiations, I was compelled to adopt a style of language adapted to the understanding of the Linguist, who, although possessing a tolerable knowledge of the English language, comprehended only familiar terms.

people, I have been a long time on the coast, more than twelve moons, waiting in anxiety to see his majesty; but was prevented travelling at an earlier period, in consequence of the interruption of intercourse by the Gaman war, and also of the rainy season.

"The dispute between the king and the governor has been a subject of disappointment and regret to me, because it could not fail to give dissatisfaction to the king of England, and his great captains, that the whites and blacks should have any cause of dispute, and particularly at a time when so much had been done for the good of all.

"If, therefore, the king of Ashantee has any thing to say against the white men, let the *palaver* be spoken, for I dare affirm that the king of England would not permit any of his people to give offence to the king of Ashantee, wilfully and without cause. At the same time it is my duty to declare to the king that if he injure the governor and white men, he may certainly expect it will deprive him of my master's friendship, and be attended with disastrous consequences."

During this recital, which, in conformity to court etiquette, was first translated by my own linguist, and afterwards re-translated into a superior dialect, the king was musing; but no sooner had the linguist ceased speaking, than his features relaxed into a smile of satisfaction and self-importance. Turning round to his captains, he said aloud, "You see how much honour the white king does me. The gods have done me all this good instead of my ancestors! Who shall disobey me, now the white king is my friend?" Turning his face towards me, he smilingly said, "This is well, I am now very happy, because you are come, and can see with your own eyes, and hear with your own ears, what is true; and now you shall settle all disputes." With this assurance I was dismissed.

In the evening I received a message requiring my attendance at the palace, on the day following, with all the presents except

the rum, guns, and powder. * Some pots of palm wine were afterwards brought, a part of which was, by the king's desire, distributed among the Fantees.

On the first of March I went to the palace, where I found a number of workmen in readiness. The king, who was seated under a shed, surrounded by a few favourites, received me this time with the most open affability; and having directed my chair to be placed in front of his own, he introduced some significant questions about England and her king; demanding to know his name, (which he endeavoured to repeat after me, and *at perfection* articulated *Shorshi*,) the kind of house he inhabited, the number of his women *(wives)*, slaves, &c., the manner in which he made war, and a variety of other questions. He declared that he knew the English king to be king over all other white kings, and that his subjects were the most powerful and warlike of the white nations: just as he was the black "king of kings, and his people the greatest black warriors." This eulogy he concluded by saying, "the great God of his fathers, whom he serves, preserve him long upon the stool (throne), and make his enemies die before him. The king of England had chained his heart to him."

He repeated the enquiry whether I was actually from England or not, for the other white man † told him, he said, that he was sent by the king of England. This I conceived to be a fit opportunity for dispelling all doubts, by introducing my credentials. One of the officers, to whom I delivered my commission, read it aloud, while the linguist interpreted at each period deliberately. The king listened with attention, and when the recital was over, he bounded upon his feet, and grasping a scimiter that was handed to him, he gravely folded his clothes about his loins, eyeing me at the time with a scrutinizing glance; and as he stood in that posture, commenced an energetic speech,

* These articles, however, were conveyed privately to the palace at the same time.

† Mr. Bowdich.

while his captains flocked tumultuously together, half surrounding their sovereign. At intervals the king flourished his weapon in the air, elevating or depressing the point of the blade as low as my forehead. When he had concluded he retired backwards to his seat, and cast the weapon from his hand, making a signal at the same time to his chief officers with one finger. The sign was understood. Adusai (a confidential minister) advanced next, and spoke with his characteristic volubility, imitating at the time, the transport before described. This officer was succeeded by Kankam (another minister), Apoko, the chief general of the army, Ado Matta (an aged officer of high military rank), and Agampong, all favourites of the king, with whom their influence was great.

This striking novelty in court *etiquette* naturally excited surprise. The king perceived it, and desired Adusai to explain to my linguist that the ceremony I had witnessed was an oath of inviolable friendship and fidelity, whereby the king pledged himself to the king of England, to serve him and to fight for him, as I should direct, &c.

At my leisure I obtained copies of the oaths, from the memory of my linguist, * and the Fantees who were present. That of the king was thus construed—

"I swear a great oath, by the great God and the Fetische, and that great oath of my ancestors (the battle of Accromanti) that that book (commission) is what I approve of; and I will remember what is just. The great king has secured my attachment; he is my master, and I will serve him truly, and do all I can to give him satisfaction. I will send my soldiers to the right and to the left whenever you say he wishes to make war on the wicked; then all these countries will know that I am a true friend, and that the white king is my king. I will do much

* I had but one linguist when I arrived at Coomassy, a man every way qualified for his office as interpreter; another, named Abroah, came up some days after, and without my knowledge, whose presence was inauspicious: at least the king was jealous of him.

to benefit the English in this country, and the people shall know that I love them better than the Dutch and Danes; but I like all white men. Hear this, captains; my master has sent me a great officer to take care of, and he must have whatever he wants, for he is now the same as my son, and the people must know I love him very much."

The oath of Adusai was as follows:—

"This is a great day for Sai (the king) because we see his name is known in the white country. My gold, my life, my wives, children, and slaves all belong to Sai, for he is the great king here; and I swear by all the king's great oaths (those by which he swore) to do all that is right as the king says; I will fight and I will die for the white king, if he tell me."

That of Kankam ran thus:—

"It is many moons since the white men came up before. When they went to the white country, they spoke the truth to the great king, and said, Sai is your good friend; and when he hears that Sai is a great king also over the black countries, then he knows that Sai has a good heart. Now, I am the king's slave, and I shall serve him faithfully. I swear the king's great oaths, that I will do what he commands, and I will fight and die for the great white king. Thus, because he is a good friend, all the black men are his slaves."

Apoko took up the scimiter in turn. It was not unknown to me that the political sentiments of this chief, whose influence was powerful, were hostile to the Fantees. His rank in the army rendered his voice in the cabinet the most important, perhaps, in the list of caboceers. It should be recorded, however, that although he and his party were adverse to a reconciliation with the natives of Cape Coast, they did not openly implicate the governor and council in the quarrel, unless as accessaries to the conduct of the Fantees. The king of England, Apoko one day said, could not know the truth; for, as the governor had at least taken a secondary part in the quarrel, and had broken the law (treaty), he would not surely write a true book to the

great king. The sentiments of this man, to be gathered from his speech, were naturally interesting at this crisis.

"Chief of the white men," said he, "that book is good, the king likes it, and we all like it. Sincerity appears in your face. The great god you serve knows what is in the heart; but I think you cannot tell a lie. I see the great king sends good things to Sai, because he thinks he is a true friend, and will take care of his forts, and the white men, and make a good trade. But the white captain, who came up before, told the king lies; because he made a book of friendship, and then cheated the king. Sai is a true king, I am only a captain. If he say—Make war, and kill the people, I must do so. If he say—Be friends, then I certainly cannot fight. Now I hear the words of that book (the commission), I like it, because the great king wishes to make Ashantee and England all one. Sai knows I tell him what I think is good for him; because I cannot sit here when I see people insolent, and hear them say he is not the king. I fought in Fantee and Assin, with Apoutay and Cheboo. If Sai be not king, as the Fantees pretend, why does the white king now send him a true captain, and presents? But they lie! and it is their deceitfulness; because they do not wish him to see the king. The white men know very well that Ashantee is mighty in war; and it is not right for the governor to say to the people, 'Make a wall, and fight the king.' That is not like a true friend, according to the book. This palaver, Captain, (addressing me) is what is in my heart: I think it very shameful in the governor; but let that pass. I swear the king's oath, tha twhat he says, I will do; and if he say, fight for the great king, I will kill all his enemies, so that all the people shall serve him here as in the white country. Sai is our master, and the great king is our master too.

"Then for you, Captain, you are all the same here as our wives and children: nobody shall hurt you."

Agampong and Ado Matta swore the oath; the former without passing any particular comment; the latter, however, a respectable old

chief of the first rank, said, at the close of the ceremony, "I am an old man now, but I have fought many times against the king's enemies, and now I see all the towns conquered, and the people know that Sai is king; it is only foolish men who speak evil; but they know not what they do. Suppose, then, Cape Coast refuses to pay what is just, this white captain will look to it, and restore a good understanding; and then the trade can go down to the water side as the great king wishes."

The presents were then opened for inspection; and it unfortunately happened that the most unsightly articles presented themselves first to view. A turning lathe, in particular, attracted the king's notice, not unmingled with a look of disappointment; yet he examined the parts with minute attention, as he inquired its use. Some British silks of Indian patterns, and some little carpets which were spread before him, again brightened up his countenance, although he endeavoured to affect indifference. "All was good," he said, as he bestowed commendations on the usefulness or beauties of the presents. A convex mirror attracted universal attention, and gave the monarch so much delight, that he marched off with it to the harem, to shew it to his wives.

The next articles were an admiral's full uniform, richly embroidered, a service of china, a bronze lamp, a repeating watch, a musical box, and some pieces of rich gold flowered silks. A few of these articles, it was evident, gave him great delight; but he would not approve of one in particular, lest it might be considered a disparagement to the others. He repeated his approbation of the whole, and then passed them over for the inspection of some of his chief officers. "I love the great king," said he, "even without a present. I like the good things he sends me too; but if he sends me a corn stalk it is enough, I shall always love him." His majesty required an explanation of the properties of the organ, lathe, musical box, watch, &c. Unfortunately the organ had sustained more injury than any other article. The mechanism and harmony of

the other articles excited a degree of superstitious regard, until the king was perfectly assured of their harmless powers: the box in particular was supposed to possess talismanic virtues. The two drums, probably gave as much real satisfaction as any of the articles. The case containing them and the cymbals stood apart from the others, and the Fantees, thinking no doubt, that their virtues would be better explained by a specimen of the effect, struck up a peal without any ceremony. The king, at first, did not seem to notice the sound, but as soon as he was made acquainted with the cause, he desired the noise to cease; his countenance at the same time indicating a sense of suppressed mortification at the liberty taken. Last of all, one case of musquets was opened, and their quality minutely inspected; as if these deadly weapons were, after all, deemed of more intrinsic value than any thing else.

It was already dusk, and the king appeared anxious to escape from the bustle. He desired to know, precisely, whether or not the present was sent to him by the king of England. My answer satisfied him that it was. "Then," said he "I am happy. I have conquered all the countries down to the sea with my own powder and shot, and the gods have made me known to the great king of white men, whose officer brings me good things. This is a great honour, which I cannot forget. If my country contains any thing good for the great king," said he, addressing the conversation to me, "it is his, for he is my master too. His present I like very much; and I like him, for he is my good friend, and his people are all my good friends." As he concluded the sentence, he arose from his seat and retired.

On the following morning, March 2d, a deputation of the Moslems waited upon me to deliver a message of congratulation on the prospect of peace. The deputation consisted of Mohammed al Ghamba, or Baba as he was commonly called, Bashaw, or Caboceer of the Moslems, attended by Abdallah ben Gatta Shoumou, Ali ben

Mohammed, Shellom ben Cantoma, Ibrahim al Yandy, Abou Becr Atolo, Jelelly ben Kadsy al Bouroumy, and Al Hadge Ambaric al Slaghy; nine of the principal traders, besides a proportionate number of the inferior classes, and slaves. Many of these people enjoyed rank at court, or were invested with administrative powers, entitling them even to a voice in the senate. The party having seated themselves, the chief explained the purport of the visit, commenting at intervals upon the pacific disposition of the king towards white men, his prowess in war, the extent of his dominions, &c. Although Moslems, many of these people, in common with the heathen Africans, were addicted to the use of spirituous liquors, and it was frankly insinuated by some of the bystanders that a little rum would be acceptable. The chief, however, took the precaution to dismiss the whole of his retinue, with the exception of a few friends. These failed not to indulge in swallowing a few goblets of that *delectable* spirit, although, with a moderate degree of affectation, they rejected the first offer.

When they had sufficiently regaled, and as the liquor exhilarated the company, I took the opportunity to introduce a sort of satire used by the Arabs against drunkards. The astonishment, not to term it superstitious terror, with which these *religious men* were struck at the sound of the language exceeded any conjecture I could have formed. The sentence was well comprehended by the Bashaw, whose countenance betrayed a confusion that gave me pain to witness. At length one of the party, with pure simplicity, replied, "Chief, whatever you may really be, for God alone knows, you have spoken wisdom to shame us before the infidels, because we who are true believers are sinners, and break his holy law. This is certainly a direction from the Most High. In the name of God who are you, and from what country do you come?" Although I satisfied their enquiries, by a confession that their religious language was known to me, from a long residence among the Arabs, still

I found it impossible to renew the hilarity of the scene. The liquor was neglected, and an affected austerity was employed to cover the former excess. From this day forward, neither the Moslems nor any of their proselytes would indulge in the use of spirituous liquors in my presence.

In the evening the Bashaw returned, in company with his friend Abou Becr only. In the most serious and unaffected manner they enquired if I were not a "true believer," and a Talb, or priest. To both these questions I thought proper to return evasive answers.

I found that the knowledge these people possessed of the Arabic was limited, generally speaking; although a few of the most intelligent were sufficiently skilled in the language to hold a conversation with fluency. This qualification the chief and his friend, particularly the latter (Abou Becr), were gifted with to a degree exceeding most of their brethren. Although their idiom was sometimes obscure, yet all serious obstacles to a direct communication of thoughts were removed. Thus early I could not fail noticing that their pronunciation resembled that of Egypt and the Deserts: notwithstanding an intermixture in the dialect of a few uncouth expressions, which savoured of the original African. In this language our correspondence was renewed, and when they could not gain a satisfactory reply on the subject of religion, they produced a Koran, and turning over the pages, pointed out two or three passages relating to the unity of the Supreme Being, the resurrection of souls, the future state, &c. These they requested me to read, and putting a favourable construction upon my compliance, the controversy ended. It appeared in the sequel, they indulged the belief that our faith was the same, in theory at least; or that I was actually a true believer, according to their own acceptation of the word; and for political reasons I never was desirous of undeceiving them.

In reminding me of the sarcasm I had used in the morning, the Bashaw told me that his feelings had beeen wounded, because he stood

in the character of Patriarch, and therefore had suffered degradation in the eyes of his friends.

The familiarity of our intercourse entitled me now to a greater degree of confidence, and accordingly I was given to understand, that the "Prophet's cause" was not neglected in these regions of ignorance. "When I was a young man," said the Bashaw, "I worked for the good of my body. I traded on the face of God's earth, and travelled much; as my beard grew strong I settled at Salgha, and lastly removed to this city. I was still but an indifferent Talb, when, God be praised, a certain Moraboth from the north was sent to me by a special direction, and that learned saint taught me the truth; so that now my beard is white, and I cannot travel as before; I am content to seek the good of my soul in a state of future reward. My avocations at Coomassy are several; but my chief employment is a school which I have endowed, and which I preside over myself. God has compassionated my labours, and I have about seventy pupils and converts at this time. Besides this, the king's heart is turned towards me, and I am a favoured servant. Over the Moslems I rule as Cady, conformably to our law; I am also a member of the king's council in affairs relating to the believers of Sarem and Dagomba; and I trade with foreign countries through the agency of my friend Abou Becr."

This confession was in some points open to a prejudicial construction, inasmuch as it looked ostentatious; but from the general conduct of the man, his modesty and urbanity, I could not bring myself to think so uncharitably.

In adverting to the religious opinions of the Ashantees, the reply was, that they were poor wandering heathens; but that many of the chiefs were bigotted infidels, not excepting the king himself; although that monarch would sometimes give ear to the law, (of Mohammed) and never opposed the believers of Ghunja; but on the contrary was a friend on whom they could always rely for protection. Although the king, added my informer, was a misguided infidel, he

was yet superior by far, to many other sovereigns, and particularly to the king of Dahomy, his eastern neighbour, who was an infidel of infidels (Kaffar ben al Koufar).

This sovereign a short time back was an avowed enemy to the religion of Islam, and actually put a number of the "Prophet's children" to death in his country. God, however, they said, had changed his heart, and now the brethren of the true faith travel even to the sea side in safety, and gain numbers of proselytes in his dominions. Reverting again to the king of Ashantee, they asserted that with the exception of many barbarous practices, such as the libations of human blood at sacrifices, and the horrid cruelty of his wars, he was a good man, and wholly undeserving the name of tyrant. The character of true believers, they added, stood very high with the king, for he consulted them upon many important occasions, where the interests of their nation were concerned; and moreover, he never engaged in any warlike enterprize without their society.

In the case of the recent war of Gaman, they informed me that they both accompanied the king.* It was the bloodiest campaign they had ever witnessed, for many thousands of Moslems perished in the war, as Ghobagho and Kong (both Mohammedan countries,) had united their forces with Dinkera, king of Gaman, who had cast off his allegiance to the king of Ashantee, and transferred a tribute which he formerly paid him to the Sultan of Kong. In describing some of the characteristics of the war, they declared they had actually witnessed the

* Subsequently I learned that the Bashaw deserted from the army, the evening after the great battle of the Tando river, and returned to Coomassy. This conduct enraged the king, who swore that had he not been a holy man, he would have put him to death. After I became acquainted with this little history, I took a favourable opportunity to insinuate its contents to the chief, who, in reply, admitted the truth; but alledged in his defence, that his character as well as his life were at stake; for in regard to the former, he could not without deserving to be stigmatized as infamous, witness the horrid butcheries in the camp, so contrary to the tenets of his religion, and what would it have booted him in the world to come, had it pleased God to have destroyed him in the ranks of the infidels, when he was not fighting for the faith, but against it.

massacre of ten thousand old men, women, and young children, besides numbers of chieftains, who were put to death by tortures the most revolting to humanity. The Ashantees, they affirmed, were, as enemies, the most terrible of mankind, and in war, were justly dreaded even by the true believers.*

Religion was a favourite topic of discussion. With this preference I purposely complied, that I might gain the confidence of my new friends. To my enquiries relating to the geography, &c. of the interior of Africa, they gave replies which proved their capacity and inclination to oblige. Their account of these matters will be found in another division of this work.

During the remainder of the evening these valuable friends continued to furnish me with many useful lessons, calculated, as they affirmed, for my guidance at court; nor did they exempt from the catalogue the private characters of several of the king's friends and courtiers. Apoko in particular, they declared to be the most ferocious chief in the kingdom, and one whose delight was to wallow in human blood. Amon Koitea, a man whose rank was second only to that of the king, and who governed the country as lieutenant or viceroy, was a tyrant equally blood-thirsty, and in his sacrifices the most inhuman of monsters. Little more reputable were the characters of Ouso Cudjo, Ado Quamina, Amo Nahim, and other captains of the king's troops.

* This political conduct on the part of the king appearing to me a little enigmatical, and as it did not tally with what I had been previously told of the respect entertained for Moslems, I suggested the question as an apparent inconsistency. But I was readily informed that his majesty's affection for true believers was limited to the more eastern districts, and to Talbs or priests of all nations, but more especially those who came from Egypt, or any part of the Holy Land. His western wars were strictly political. Yet the prisoners he took in battle, if Moslems, were never put to death like infidels; on the contrary, they were well used, and generally transferred to the eastern division of the empire, particularly to Bouromy on the Volta. If they fell in battle against the king, it was considered their "blood was upon their own heads."

My entry into Coomassy they affirmed was signalized by the sacrifice of a number of human victims; slaves and malefactors, who had been reserved by the king and his chiefs for many days previous. The number of victims offered up at the palace, they added, were nine, and every chief was compelled to furnish an additional quota to the sanguinary offerings; but the king knowing the abhorrence with which the white men viewed these butcheries, had conducted the sacrifices in secret, and had prohibited all his chiefs from exercising the like barbarity in public during my stay in Coomassy.

On the 3d of March, Agampong, the captain of the palace, or of audiences, waited upon me with a message requesting me to attend the king.

I lost no time in obeying the summons, and found his majesty seated in his palace, under the same shed as before. Several of the presents lay scattered before him, as if he had been engaged in the inspection. The reception he gave me was as friendly as could be desired, and he caused me to be seated by his side.

A conversation upon various desultory topics opened the audience, and the king, throughout, manifested by his enquiries an intense curiosity regarding the affairs of Europe; but more especially of England. His knowledge on these points appeared, as in fact it really was, extremely limited. Europe, or the "land of white men," he supposed to contain several tribes or families, of which the English was the most warlike, and powerful, of the day; and the Portuguese the most ancient, and formerly the mistress of all the other tribes. These several tribes, he imagined, inhabited a number of large islands which were subordinate to the king of England (or the English island) who received annual tributes from the whole. Besides the Portuguese, the Danes, Swedes, Americans, Dutch, and Spaniards were names familiar to his understanding, although his information respecting them was equally contemptible; so much so, indeed, that it would have warranted a mean opinion of his majesty, had I not known from

experience, that it was possible for nations less remote from Europe, and infinitely superior in acquired knowledge* to think as vaguely.

The king pointing to the lathe, required to be informed of its properties; but when this was done, he could not be prevailed upon to value it at a high estimation. It seemed to him too mechanical for a royal present; at least his countenance conveyed this impression, although courtesy prevented his evincing any disappointment. The properties of the organ were better understood, yet it was discovered to have sustained material damage in the humid vaults of Cape Coast Castle. The task of winding up the watch and musical box required a degree of care foreign to the comprehension of the king; it was requisite, therefore, to put the mechanism in motion each time. At last the king consigned the lathe and organ to the care of Mr. Salmon; as this gentleman expressed his confidence of being able to put them in order; and here the audience broke up.

Early on the 4th of March, the king sent me some bottles of palm wine, coupled with an injunction to hold myself in readiness to meet him in the great area, where he designed to distribute some bulky presents before the people. I felt something like repugnance at meeting his majesty's wishes in so public a manner, and this objection I insinuated to the Bashaw; but my scruples were totally beyond the comprehension of this worthy Moslem; nor could he conceive that I was sincere, until I hinted a thought of sending to the palace, to request that the intended presents might be postponed until the

* In Morocco I have conversed with Arabs or Moors of superior education, whose notions concerning the geography of Europe, differed not very materially from the opinions of the Ashantees. England, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Hamburg, Lubec, and some other trading countries and cities were conceived to be islands in the Ocean, contiguous to each other, and of no extraordinary magnitude, although England was admitted to be the largest and most populous. Their notions concerning France, Italy, but more particularly Spain and Portugal were more accurately defined, doubtless from ancestorial tradition preserved from the records of their forefathers, the conquerors or inheritors of that extensive Peninsula.

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evening. "How can you," said the chief, "think of such a thing? the king already loves you like his son, and why do you wish to shame him in his own country, when he is going to treat you the same as he would a king, and do you a great honour before his captains and all Coomassy? The people," added the Bashaw, "are already assembled, the great officers are in attendance, as well as our own people, and I shall be with the king; therefore come in God's name, and it will be well for you: but if you do not, the king will surely think you are angry."

The approaching ceremony, it is true, created a certain feeling not far removed from disgust, as it seemed to interfere with the character I was bound to support. It was pleasing, however, to witness the anxious solicitude of the Bashaw and Abou Becr, who could only have been guided by the purest motives of friendship, and I submit these remarks, in contradiction of what has been insinuated to the prejudice of the Moslems, respecting their political sentiments.

About one o'clock, the king sent me a guard of honour, and a message intimating his readiness to meet me at the appointed spot. I accordingly sallied forth with the other officers. The whole body of Fantee carriers brought up the rear, with countenances beaming with satisfaction; for, as they were heard to say, it looked auspiciously, and foreboded a reconciliation. On turning the angle at which my quarters joined a row of huts, a full assemblage of the people opened to the view; and in the midst of the multitude the king was seated under his canopy. Our seats, by his majesty's direction, were placed under the shade of some trees, and after a formal salutation he retired a few paces in front of our ranks. His majesty's countenance beamed with more than usual satisfaction, which it reflected upon all around him. The chiefs enjoyed in secret the ostentatious gaiety of their sovereign, while the multitude, less attached to decorum, and elated with the bare glimpse of royal smiles, were animated to bursts of enthusiasm and

uproar. These feelings of good will were not lost upon the Fantees, whose happiness seemed little short of what was manifested by the Ashantees themselves.

Adusai was directed to distribute some little silk packages which the king placed in his hands. In obedience to this instruction, the minister came pompously forward, and advancing towards me, as he held up the packages to public view, he delivered one into my hand, saying, "The king gives you seven ounces two ackeys of gold, as a token of friendship." The other little parcels of gold, in the proportion of two ounces and upwards, were afterwards distributed to Messrs. Collins, Hutton, Salmon, and Graves, each in proportion to the estimation his majesty was pleased to put upon their respective ranks. The king was attentive to what was transacting; yet he occasionally turned round to his courtiers, inquiring as it were, by his countenance, whether their feelings sympathized with his own.

A pause of some duration ensued, and his majesty directed his eyes full, and steadily upon us, while every muscle indicated a joyous satisfaction, augmented as it seemed by the hilarity of the people. A messenger now advanced to acquaint me that the present of provisions was approaching, and soon afterwards a file of about two hundred men and boys, laden with provisions, passed in the order of review, and were then conducted to my quarters, where they deposited their burthens. The supply consisted of two cows, several sheep and goats, poultry, eggs, yams, plantains, bananas, honey, oil, palm, nuts, and wine, cankay bread, and a large pig. The court then broke up, and we were permitted to retire. Upon approaching the avenue leading to my apartments, the scattered heaps of provisions which had been cast promiscuously on the ground, nearly choked up the way. The abundance that now reigned in the quarters, gave licence to excesses among the people, and as the diet was in itself somewhat novel to the Fantees, many of those people suffered from intemperate indulgence. This princely donation lasted, however, but a few days,

for added to our own daily consumption, the town's-people occasionally invaded the quarters by stealth, and pilfered the bread, wine and nuts.

In the course of the day, the king sent me a horse, which he desired I should make use of during my stay in the country. This animal, although of a diminutive breed, and of unsightly appearance, was moderately fleet and active, possessing a share of Arabian vivacity. The saddle and trappings were in the fashion of West Barbary, although the workmanship was uncouth, and some of the ornamental appendages were wanting.

Abou Becr and Cantoma, the two Moslems, whose names have been already mentioned, paid me a visit in the afternoon, bringing with them a few manuscripts, which they said belonged to a friend of theirs, who was then absent on a trading journey at Killinga. Cantoma was moderately well skilled in the Arabic language, which he said he had studied in Haoussa. From these Moslems I learned that several Mandings and Mountaineers were in the city, who only waited an invitation to pay their respects to me. I had no sooner expressed an inclination to meet the strangers, than these two friends departed, and in a few minutes returned again with three Moslems, who said they were natives of Kong, that they belonged to a Mandingo tribe called Argoul, who having opposed the Ashantees in the Gaman war, it had been their lot to fall under the power of the king. These men were incapable of holding any conversation in Arabic, and one of the three only was able to read in that language. Ado Quamina happening to enter the apartment at the time, put a total stop to the harmony of the meeting; as they did not care to converse in the presence of an Ashantee chief. My endeavours to get rid of my new guest were unavailing, as he politely assured me that the king had appointed him to prevent the people from being intrusive. Finding that my new acquaintance were not disposed to retire, he spoke in an angry tone to them; the effect of which was evident, as they suddenly took leave. The interpreter said that Ado Quamina threatened to report them to

the king, upon a suspicion that they had been giving me information about the western countries.* This recital kindled some indignation on my part, and in turn I peremptorily insisted upon his quitting the quarters, threatening to relate the whole matter to the king, and complain that the first insult I had received was from the man who called himself my protector.

The resentment conveyed in this threat effectually softened down the austerity of the chief, who was now anxious to conciliate; offering to restore me my friends; but I did not deem it politic to renew the intimacy at this time, and Ado Quamina departed. Cantoma and Abou Becr whispered me before they left, that I should be on my guard against Ado Quamina, who acted as a court spy. The king, they added, would not object to my intercourse with them, although he might not approve of an intimate connexion with his recent enemies;

* In pages 48 and 49 of Dalzel's History of Dahomy, it appears that a prejudice coinciding with the one abovementioned existed in that kingdom. The passage is as follows: "In the evening going to take leave of the great captain, they found in his tent two of the Muley or Malaye people, of which there were about forty at that time in the camp. They were black, dressed in long gowns, with a kind of turban on their heads, and sandals on their feet. The interpreter told Captain Snelgrave that they belonged to a nation far inland, bordering on the Moors, had been taken in different wars as they were trading from one country to another, and were, like the white men, possessed of the art of writing. The king treated them kindly, in return for which they dyed goat and sheep skins of divers colours, out of which, amongst other uses, cartouch boxes and powder bags were made for the soldiers. The author was desirous of conversing with them, but was informed it would give offence to the great captain; knowing the jealousy of all the negroes in like cases, he desisted, and having paid his visit, returned to his tent."

This is a more accurate account than any given by the preceding writers, some of whom supposed them from the name to be natives of Malacca. It seems probable that Guinea is indebted to these wandering Mahometans for many of its customs, and Europe for the knowledge of the inland countries.

It is this jealousy that has stopped the progress of all the European inquiries into the geography and history of this part of Africa, and which will probably remain an insuperable obstruction to it for many ages, unless we could employ these Moors or Malayes, if found adequate to the task, and willing to undertake it. They seem to be the only people who have a *passe par-tout*, and who travel much farther than the *Caravans*. The Malayes here are detained as being prisoners of war; but traders would not be under such restrictions, as we may see by comparing the treatment of Lambe with that of the other people.

but when it should be known that our religious language was familiar, he would not certainly be very scrupulous, and therefore it would be necessary to tell his majesty the truth. Ado Quamina returned again at this juncture, bringing with him a small pot of palm wine, which he presented to me as a reconciliatory offering, and grasping Cantoma by the arm, he entreated his mediation. It would have been impossible to harbour resentment, had I not persuaded myself that it was necessary to consult other feelings than those which were personal. Again he departed in a pensive mood, and as the sun went down, returned once more, bringing with him his band of musical performers on horns and flutes, and commencing a serenade opposite the outer gate. Whilst this was transacting, he seated himself very demurely in the street, beating time with his hands, and chaunting occasional stanzas. During the entertainment, the Bashaw and two or three of his friends entered the quarters, and Ado Quamina again followed with his pot of wine, and some honeycomb, which he had added to the present. When he had placed the articles at my feet, he renewed his petition to these Moslems, one by one, requesting their mediation with me, and called to my own servants, by name, intreating a good word from them. It was more than enough; I felt as if I had really injured the man, and could hold out no longer. I accepted of his offering, and buried all animosity by permitting the musicians to enter the enclosure.*

The Bashaw informed me he had recently come from the palace,

* Of all the musical instruments of Ashantee, the flutes and small horns are the most tolerable to an European ear. Enough has already been said upon the discordant notes of a full concert of martial music. The flutes and horns form, however, an exception, and in truth, the harmony produced by an unison of these instruments is far from despicable; the former being melodious and plaintive, and the latter approaching the sound of the human voice, perhaps beyond any other artificial contrivance. Indeed so clear and distinct are the tones which they utter, that conversations are usually carried on by distant parties of performers, and war songs, and deeds of heroism are recited, by which they work an audience up to a pitch of phrenzy.

and that the king knew I could converse with the believers, but he could not acquaint me by what means his majesty obtained that information. The king, he said, was not angry but astonished, and he believed my *Fetische* * to be a very powerful one. The conduct of Ado Quamina I found had been already promulgated abroad by himself, and my visitors candidly avowed that they came to reconcile me to Ado Aquamina, who dreaded the power of my "Fetische" as much as he did the risk of incurring the displeasure of his sovereign.

The Bashaw introduced a number of young male slaves whom he had adopted in his family, and who were under his religious tuition. These lads, he assured me, were the children of infidels in various countries, and some were Ashantees, given to him by the king, or purchased with his own property. Every true believer, he added, adopted the same plan in proportion to the extent of his income; and as it was an act highly meritorious in itself, so all the faithful who visited these lands made a merit of redeeming at least one soul

* The application of the word Fetische, so commonly in use with Europeans and Negroes in this part of Africa, requires elucidation; yet it would, perhaps, be impossible to select from any known language a term of corresponding signification. Sufficient may be said, however, to explain its general import. Fetische is evidently a corrupt relic of the Portuguese, introduced to the country, probably, by the original explorers of that nation, and adopted by the Africans to accommodate to the understanding of their visitors, such things connected with religion, laws, or superstition, as could not be explained by the ordinary use of a few common-place expressions, and that could not be interpreted by ocular demonstrations. Religion, we know, was a leading feature in the Portuguese and Spanish armaments of those days. Any exclusive power, or faculty in human nature, is deemed an inspiration of the Fetische, such as slight of hand, necromancy, invocations of departed spirits, and witchcraft. The religious laws of particular sects or casts, (for they are probably as various in Africa as elsewhere) are described to Europeans, at the present day, under the denomination Fetische. The talismanic charms and sentences from the Koran, worn about the body, have the same appellation in common; and generally whatever is held as sacred, including trees, stones, rivers, or houses, whether ancient or of recent dedication to any invisible spirit or matter, are comprehended within that signification. Thus if a man should swear by the religious observances of his ancestors, an interpreter would say he called upon his Fetische to witness the truth; and the same invocation may be applied to other cases, where the oath is upon trivial affairs. An invocation of the wandering spirits or Genii, which also bear the name Fetische, is considered inviolable.

from the jaws of perdition, according to the injunctions contained in the Koran. One of these youths was pre-eminently conspicuous from his fellows, by personal beauty, and a countenance of prepossessing benignity, and the Bashaw noticing the attention with which I eyed his convert, instantly offered to dispose of him, provided I would be a purchaser. But when I assured him that my curiosity was confined to a knowledge of his native country, he told me that he was from a town in Bouromy, on the banks of the Bahar Aswada, or, the Volta River. The young man's features were exactly of the Arab cast. He, as well as his compeers, was incapable of comprehending a single sentence, or even a word of Arabic, beyond the little gleaning of his religious study. The Bashaw, however, was unwilling to leave upon my mind an impression so unfavourable to his scholastic capacity; selecting, therefore, one of the pupils as a specimen, he desired him to rehearse a part of his acquirements. This, the young man complied with, and recited the * Fatha and Bismillah verbatim, but his pronunciation denoted that redundancy of vowel terminations so peculiar to the languages of all negroes. This circumstance I could not fail to notice, because his delivery was an exception to the pronunciation of his patrons, who, although African negroes also, generally spoke the language with a tolerable share of fluency, and with a pronunciation which would not have disgraced even the Caba. As the conversation turned upon the features of internal Africa, the Bashaw informed me that, as in his youth he had travelled a great deal, the thing he regretted most was that he never took up the resolution to visit Mecca and the Holy Land. Now, added he, I am an old man;

* The Fatha has been already described. The Bismillah (In the name of God) is another prayer; or more properly that part of the Islam creed which teaches its votaries the unity and indivisibility of the Godhead, and held in high repute. The words are—

"In the name of God the merciful and compassionate. Say God is one (and indivisible). The Eternal God: he begetteth not, neither is he begotten, and there is no one like unto him."

the mountain rain has fallen upon my head, and I am incapable of long journies; or, at all events, I would close my days in the land of the faithful. In reply to my enquiry how far he had been to the northward, "I have never, said he, crossed the Quarra River, yet I have been in Sarem, in Dagombah, in Killinga, in Yarraba, and all the countries upon the great waters."

Agampong arrived at a late hour in the evening, bringing with him a large pot of palm wine, which he delivered to me in the name of the king as of a superior growth and quality, adding, "The king drinks your health in his house, and wishes you to do the same by him."

On the 5th of March, I attended the palace to return the king thanks for his present. His majesty put on a scrutinizing, although a good-natured look as I advanced, and when the acknowledgements were interpreted to him, instead of noticing the purport of the visit, he significantly motioned his head, repeating in a voice moderately audible, as if to himself, "Salamo, Alikom, Alikom Salam Alikom Salam, Salamo Alikom*," his eyes being still riveted upon me. My two friends Cantoma and Abou Becr were seated upon the ground, near the state chair, in the attitude of counting their beads, when the king abruptly inquired of them where I gained a knowledge of their language; but made no remark upon it.

This audience was the least pompous of any. The king was habited in a simple garb that covered his loins, leaving the remainder of his body exposed; nor had he any ornaments of gold, silver, coral, or aggry beads, as is customary on state occasions. A few only of the principal officers and captains were in attendance, besides the two before named Moslems. Two guards stood behind the monarch armed with musquets, and this etiquette alone distinguished him from the subject. After the lapse of a few seconds, (during

* The Korannic salutation.

which I felt some anxiety to know in what light the king might view my intimacy with the Moslem laws and language) the reserve passed off, and his majesty spoke upon several topics. At last, resuming the business of the mission, he spontaneously said, "The great king (of England) is my master; he is my friend too, he sends me good things and makes my heart glad; thus he does me great honour before all my people, and puts shame on my enemies faces. I see your face, that is enough; I have no more palavers with white men, and I have no longer a *bad* palaver in my head. All the evil the Fantees have done shall be settled, I am a true friend to the great king, and will do what I can to please him." The audience soon after broke up, and I returned to my quarters under a buoyancy of expectation that led me to entertain with confidence the hope of a speedy termination of all differences.

The news soon spread from the court through the city, and in less than an hour, the Moslems assembled to congratulate me upon this happy turn of politics. The Fantees, who had hitherto confined their perambulations to the vicinity of the quarters, from an apprehension of insult, or personal hostility, now roved at pleasure through every section of the city; and from questioning these individuals I found that the greatest harmony existed. Indeed the difficulty that remained was to keep the people, and particularly the servants, to their respective duties. This unanimity, moreover, introduced licentiousness into our party; who, no longer awed by apprehensions, indulged themselves in excess.

One night after I had retired to rest, I was disturbed from sleep by a clamour among the people, and throwing a cloak about me, I proceeded to the apartment from whence the noise issued, and there discovered a number of Fantees regaling over a keg of rum, and some pots of palm wine, which they had purloined. Several women and young girls were seated amidst the group, or rolling over the laps of the men in the most wanton and indecent postures. My intrusion

put a stop to the conviviality of the meeting. The lamp was suddenly extinguished, to aid their escape from observation, and every one who was able fled from the scene of riot into the town, although I posted myself at the outer gate to intercept the fugitives. This tended to increase my surprise, but at dawn I was no longer astonished, when I found there was a private avenue cut between the wall and the reed fence that surrounded the apartment. This had been made as a private sally-port, to gain access to the city when the quarters were closed at night.

I received visits from several Ashantees of rank, and amongst others Ouso Bannahen, the king's uncle, came in some state, attended by forty or fifty retainers, amongst whom were a group of boys. This man was of a disposition happily mild, and indeed, with the Moslems, I found he was considered comparatively of an humane temper, although they would not admit the term in an unlimited sense, for they repeatedly affirmed that every chief was more or less prone to cruelty or oppression, and that they were educated to deeds of ferocious barbarity from childhood.

In the evening the king sent me a present of palm wine, and some live fish in a large silver tureen; these the messenger assured me were caught daily for his majesty's table, in the Bussem Echouy, a large lake of water on the Akim path. His majesty's good wishes were added to the present, with the usual "good night" and an injunction "to make myself happy, for he was my good friend; and if I wanted any thing to let him know."

The following day was chiefly employed in distributing presents to the king's officers and relatives. But before this very essential part of the negociation could be carried into effect, or before any chief would presume to accept the intended present, it was necessary to obtain permission from the king. The message returned from the palace was gratifying. "The great king," said his majesty, "has sent me good things, and he sends good things for my captains; this is

a true friend. White men know what is right, so do every thing you please.". With this licence I drew up a list of those in power, whose influence at court was most important to my views, and to these men I distributed presents in proportion to their rank.

Here I shall observe, that the system of negotiation at Morocco, does not materially vary from that of Coomassy; and as I have frequently conducted missions of this character to the sultan, I was at no loss in a negro court.

In Ashantee, however, the wives and concubines of the sovereign, are not permitted, neither do they expect, to participate in the gifts of foreign ambassadors. Their mediation is considered unavailing; and their occupations too servile and domesticated to entitle them to notice in state affairs. Whereas female mediation, as it is well known, is absolutely of the first importance as well in Barbary as in the East, where the fiat of the sultan frequently originates in the harem or the seraglio.

CHAPTER IV.

NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUED.

ARRIVAL OF THE INTERPRETER ABROAH—PREJUDICES OF THE KING AGAINST HIM—THE KING'S SISTER—ACCOUNT OF HER PROMOTION TO THE RANK OF GOVERNESS OF THE EMPIRE—MAGICAL RITES AND SUPERSTITIONS—BARBARITY OF THE KING TOWARDS HIS WIVES—COMMENCEMENT OF A HISTORY OF THE KING'S WARS FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE KING OF ENGLAND—SUSPICIONS ENTERTAINED AGAINST THE INTERPRETERS—THE KING'S NOTES FOR CAPE COAST CASTLE—REMARKS ON THE CONDUCT AND STATEMENTS OF MR. BOWDICH RESPECTING THESE NOTES—THE KING'S ARGUMENTS AND DECLARATIONS—QUALITIES AND PRICES OF GOODS SUPPLIED FROM CAPE COAST—HUMAN SACRIFICES—ATTEMPT OF THE CABOCEERS TO SOUND THE BRITISH AGENT—CONFERENCE ON THE SKETCH OF A TREATY—MESSAGE TO THE KING FROM CAPE COAST CASTLE—DISPUTES RESPECTING A PENALTY ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN REPRESENTED AS INSERTED IN THE FORMER CONVENTION—RETURN OF MR. HUTTON TO CAPE COAST—ERECTION OF A FORT BY THE KING—MISUNDERSTANDING RESPECTING THE KING OF JUABIN (DWABIN)—CONTINUATION OF THE PALAVER—LITTLE ADAI CUSTOM—HUMAN SACRIFICES—AUDIENCE OF CEREMONY—PRESENTS FROM THE KING—INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPE COAST—INDIGNATION OF THE KING—EXHIBITION OF THE MAGIC LANTHORN—APPOINTMENT OF A DAY FOR THE AUTHOR'S RETURN, ON HIS SOLEMN REQUISITION.

On the 7th, a Mulatto, named George Abroah, arrived at Coomassy from Cape Coast, with a letter recommending him to me as interpreter to the mission. His knowledge of the English language was rather superior to that of his coadjutor and predecessor; but as I afterwards discovered, he was very deficient in diplomatic courtesy, frequently giving unintentional offence by the omission of certain acts of ceremony and decorum. His presumptuous address excited some displeasure in

the king, even on the day of his arrival in the capital, when he was ushered into the presence of that sovereign, and imprudently started the topic of the "Fantee Palaver." The king also obtained information (but by what means I could never discover) that Abroah was a relation of De Graaf, the linguist of Cape Coast Castle, whom he was pleased to consider his political and personal enemy. This circumstance also weighed heavily on Abroah's reputation at court, and indeed operated to the disadvantage of the mission, by checking that open confidence which had hitherto been so strongly manifested by the king and his council. These disqualifications compelled me to remonstrate warmly with Abroah.

The king's sister entered my quarters in the forenoon, bringing in her train a troop of about one hundred and fifty women and young girls, many of whom were described as the daughters and wives of men of high rank. After taking a seat she motioned to several females who were her intimate attendants, to enter the place, whilst the remainder stood or seated themselves upon the ground without. Her speech was laconic. "She was happy," she said, "because I was her brother's good friend, and the friend of the captains, and she thanked me for the present I had sent to her." This woman's relationship naturally established her in an elevated rank, but she was doubly dignified by an employment which, perhaps, may not improperly be termed Governess of the empire, or Queen over the females; all of that sex being immediately responsible to her government, and subject to an arbitrary controul under her vice-governesses.

With this employment she had been invested only a few months, and since the king's return from Buntoko. Her elevation proceeded from a cause somewhat remarkable.

When the king was about to open the campaign against Gaman, he collected together his priests, to invoke the royal 'Fetische, and perform the necessary orgies to insure success. These ministers of superstition sacrificed thirty-two male and eighteen female victims,

as an expiatory offering to the gods, but the answers from the priests being deemed by the council as still devoid of inspiration, the king was induced to *make a custom* at the sepulchres of his ancestors, where many hundreds bled. This, it is affirmed, propitiated the wrath of the adverse gods. The priests then prepared a certain Fetische compound, which they delivered to the king, with an injunction to burn the composition daily in a consecrated fire pot within the palace; and upon no account to neglect the fire, so as to suffer it to go out; for as long as the sacred flame devoured the powder, he would triumph over his foes.

When the king joined his army he commissioned his eldest sister (then governess of the kingdom), to attend strictly to the sacred mystery, telling her that his crown and life both depended upon her vigilance, and the fulfilment of his order. He selected also three wives to whom he was more attached than the rest, to watch by turns over the mysterious rites, in conjunction with his last-mentioned sister.

During the king's absence, this arbitress of his fate formed a connexion with a chief of Bouromy, whose ambition suggested a plan to seat himself upon the throne.

In this conspiracy, seventeen of the king's wives and their families are said to have joined; the fire-pot was broken to pieces, and the chief commenced arming his party. But the king, added my informer, who had sustained heavy losses in the early part of the war, *and was unable to account for the audacity of the enemy*, performed an incantation over a certain talisman, which gave an insight into what was transacting in the capital. He therefore dispatched a body of men under Ouso Cudjo, who, after an impotent struggle on the part of the enemy, effectually crushed the rebellion. When the king returned home, he called a council to deliberate upon the punishment due to the offenders, and it was finally decreed that his wives should suffer death by decapitation. His sister, to prevent the profanation of spilling royal

blood, was ordered to be strangled. The chief, her paramour, and all those of his party, were doomed to the most cruel deaths at the grave of the king's mother. These sentences were carried into prompt execution, and it is affirmed that above seven hundred people were sacrificed, or fell in resisting the royal forces. After this the younger sister, my present visitor, was made governess.

While these butcheries were transacting, the king prepared to enter the palace, and in the act of crossing the threshold of the outer gate, was met by several of his wives, whose anxiety to embrace their sovereign lord impelled them thus to overstep the boundary of female decorum in Ashantee; for it happened that the king was accompanied by a number of his captains, who accordingly were compelled to cover their faces with both hands, and fly from the spot. This is said to have angered the monarch, although his resentment proceeded no farther than words, and he returned the embraces of his wives. But being afterwards told by some of the superintendents that these women were more or less indisposed from a natural female cause, he was inflamed to the highest pitch of indignation, and in a paroxysm of anger caused these unhappy beings to be cut in pieces before his face; giving orders at the time to cast the fragments into the forest, to be devoured by birds and beasts of prey.* Nor did the atonement rest here, for six more unhappy females were impeached of inconstancy, (a failing, I believe, very common among them), and they also expiated their faults with their lives. Like another Ulysses, his majesty then devoted himself to the purification of his palace, when

* The law of Ashantee, although preserved only by tradition, is equally influential over the morals of all ranks. That regarding the treatment of women is of some interest, from its approximation to the Levitical, or, perhaps, more intimately to the Mohammedan law, as related in the second chapter of the Koran, where it is enjoined that the men shall separate themselves from the women when naturally indisposed, this being deemed a pollution. In Ashantee, a woman is unclean from the same cause, and cannot approach her husband, or any male branch of her family, until the disorder has left her, and she has undergone certain purifying ablutions.

to sum up the full horrors of these bloody deeds, two thousand wretched victims, selected from the Gaman prisoners of war, were slaughtered over the royal death stool, in honour of the shades of departed kings and heroes.

In the course of this day I repeated my visit to the palace. The king was at this time listening to a palaver between a Moslem and an Ashanteee; but my entrance put a stop to the discussion.* His majesty instantly invited me to a conference, and having assembled around him a few of his captains, he commenced with great volubility, a narration of his original intimacy with Assin and Fantee; retracing from its commencement, the political connexions that existed between Ashantee and the states before-mentioned, together with the causes that induced his country to make war upon them and other neighbouring states. These particulars the king expressly desired me to write upon paper, in order to justify his conduct to the king of England, who, he said, could not possibly know what evils had been inflicted upon his people, through the bad faith and hostile policy of his neighbours.

I instructed one of the officers to minute down the particulars as they were described by the king, through the usual medium of interpretation; but in an early stage of the narrative, the king, who had been eyeing the linguist Abroah with a look of suspicion and distrust, objected to his services, protesting that he was a man, who, of all others, was most prone to deceit, and who was purposely sent to pervert the truth, and "put bad palavers in my head." This was uttered with vehemence, and a corresponding gesture, which failed not to have due weight with the party to whom the accusation was addressed. The thread of the narrative was thus interrupted, and the king wandered from the argument to the dispute at issue, between himself and the authorities at Cape Coast; thus reviving feelings which could only tend

Vide Note, page 124.

to procrastinate the evils under which the British Establishments had so long suffered.

In the first transport of anger, the king exclaimed, with much bitterness of expression, against De Graaf (the mulatto linguist at Cape Coast) upon whom he lavished every abusive epithet. "He is the man," said the king, "who encourages the people to rebel; and his intrigues in the castle made the white men enemies to their best friend. His heart is bad, and he suggests falsehoods to the governor, telling him that another king sits upon the stool of his ancestors in the place of Sai, who was killed by the Bontokos."

The king occasionally evinced symptoms of extreme anger, which now and then degenerated into scurrility and malicious satire, as he dwelt upon the character of the Fantees and his former wars with that nation. At length this transport subsided, and by degrees his eyes recovered their usual good-natured expression. He declined, however, continuing the history, neither was I permitted to retain possession of the manuscript in which the narrative had been commenced. When I returned it to him, he said he would consider of it, and as he wished the great king to know the truth, he would send some of his friends as ambassadors to England, for he could not tell what the paper spoke.

The next topic of discussion related to what is termed the "king's notes," being, in points of fact, a sort of feudal bonds for the ground rent of the Castles of Cape Coast and Annamaboe, which, by reversion, after the subjugation of Fantee and its reduction to vassalage under the yoke of Ashantee, became the property of the king.

The following are copies of these notes which are still in my possession. The reader will, by inspection, be qualified to form an opinion whether or not the king, in complaining of the Fantees, was justified in conceiving his title to the sovereignty a good one.

" Cape Coast Castle, April 1, 1817.

" Zey Tooto Quamino, King of Ashantee, at 160s. per month.

(Signed) " JOHN HOPE SMITH,

" Governor in Chief." L. S.

" This note was held by Amoney, Caboceer of Annamaboe, but in consequence of the conquest of the Fantee country was claimed and transferred to Zey, king of Ashantee, by the consent of the former owner."

	" Paid to ultimo, July, 1817.		
" Goods	(Signed) W. SMITH.		8oz.
	" Paid to ultimo, December, 1817, in		
" 10 Ankers Rum, 1oz		W. S.	10
	" Paid to December 31, 1818, in		
" 24 Kegs powder		W. S.	24
	" Paid to December 31, 1819, in		
" 66 Lead bars		oz.	2 1
" 4 Ankers Rum			4 0
" 4 Kegs Powder			4 0
" 13 Cottons			1 10
" 1 Ditto Bandanoe			0 8
" 2 Taffeties			2 0
" 5 Glasgow Danes			1 14
" 1 Fathom Scarlet			0 8
" 8½ Pieces Long Cloth			4 4
" 3 Romals			1 2
" 5½ Manchester Toms			2 1
		oz.	24 0 W. S."

The other note is as follows :—

" Cape Coast Castle, April 1, 1817.
" Zey Tooto Quamina, king of Ashantee, at 160s. per month.
(Signed) " JOHN HOPE SMITH,
" Governor in Chief." L. S.

"This note was held by Adooco, Caboceer of Abrah, but in consequence of the conquest of the Fantee country was claimed and transferred to Zey, king of Ashantee, by the consent of the former owner. The note of Adooco was only 60s. per month, now increased to 160s as above."

" Paid to ultimo, July 1817.
" In Goods (Signed) W. SMITH. 8oz.

" Paid to ultimo, December, 1817, in
" 10 Ankers Rum, at 1oz. each W. S. 10

" Paid to December, 1818, in
" 24 Kegs Powder W. S. 24

" Paid to December, 1819, in
" Goods as per note of Amoney, at this date W. S. 24

" This is the note of Cape Coast Castle."

These wretched bonds were objects of contention in an early stage of the negotiation between Mr. F. James (the conductor of Mr. Bowdich's Mission) and the *Cabinet* of Ashantee, in the year 1817. The king's arguments, although they were vehement ones, were supposed even then to be convincing; or at least, to show something like justice on his part; nor can it be said that the forts ever attempted to exact a recognition of sovereignity, beyond the precincts of those forts, castles, or factories. So far, indeed, to the contrary, that not only Cape Coast and Annamaboe, but every other establishment on the Gold Coast, were fettered to Ashantee, by bonds not very dissimilar; and their payments, since the conquest, reverted to the king by the right the sword had given him; or were relinquished by that monarch in favour of his maritime allies, as in the instances of the tributary king of Apollonia, and the chief of Accra.

The following extract from Mr. Bowdich's Mission (pages 46 and 47) wherein that gentleman, for himself and coadjutors, Hutchinson

and Tedlie, endeavours to justify a conspiracy against their superior officer Mr. James, may be useful to refer to here.

"We were sent for to the king's house; he was only attended by his privy counsellers, &c. The king said he wished to talk; he desired Mr. James to explain to him two notes which he produced, written by the governor in chief at the request of Amoney, king of Annamaboe, and Adokoo, chief of the Braffoes, making over to Sai, king of Ashantee, four ackies per month of their company's pay as a pledge of their allegiance and the termination of hostilities. The impression seemed to have rooted itself in the king's mind, that this was the governor's individual act,* or that he had instanced it; his countenance changed; his counsellors became enraged; they were all impatience, we all anxiety. Tell the white men, said the king, what they did yesterday made me much pleasure, I was glad we were to be friends; but to day I see they come to put shame upon my face; this breaks my heart too much. The English know that with my own powder and shot I drove the Fantees under their forts, I spread my sword over them, they were all killed, and their books (notes) from the forts are mine. These white men cheat me, they think to make *Shantee fool;* they pretend to make friends with me, and join the Fantees to cheat me, to put shame upon my face; this makes the blood come from my heart, &c. The irritation spread throughout the circle, and swelled even to uproar."

Page 48. Mr. James said in reply, "The governor of Cape Coast had done it, that he knew nothing about it, &c. The king asked him to tell him how much had been paid on these notes since his demand, that he knew white men had large books which told this. Mr. James said he could not recollect. Nothing could exceed the king's indignation. White men, he exclaimed, know how many

* Whether Mr. Bowdich doubted the fact I stop not to enquire; but the reality of the act, agreeably to the king's suspicions, was notorious.

months pass, how many years they live, and they know this, but they wont tell me: could not the other white men tell me?"

For the sake of brevity I must pass over some long panegyrics, which it would seem the author with no parsimonious hand has stamped upon his own zeal, promptitude, and talent, such as these qualifications stand recorded at the expence of the unfortunate James, whom in the same breath he stigmatizes with many disqualifications.

In page 49, the subject is renewed. "The Moors of *authority seized the moment, and zealously fanned the flame which encircled us;* for the king looking in vain for those testimonies of British feeling which presence of mind would have imposed, exclaimed, I know the English come to spy the country, they come to cheat me, they want war, they want war. Mr. James said, no, we want trade, &c."—The king continued, "I will send a captain to-morrow to take these books, and bring me the heads of all the Fantees under the forts; the white men know I can do this, I have only to speak to my captains. The Dutch governor does not cheat me; he does not shame me before the Fantees, he sends me the whole four ounces a month. The Danes do not shame me, and the English four ackies a month is nothing to me; I can send a captain for all: they wish for war. He drew his beard into his mouth, bit it, and rushing abruptly from his seat, exclaimed Shantee foo! ah! ah! then shaking his finger,* &c. would have burst from us with the exclamation, If a black man had brought me this message I would have had his head cut off. Mr. James was silent."

* Ingenious as this specimen of the Ashantee language may seem, it is only remarkable, as I am credibly informed, for being a specimen of the author's limited erudition: he forgot however to insert its meaning, if he knew it. *Shantee foo* implies, simply, Ashantee people, as we may say Englishmen. How the king could have applied such angry words to threaten poor Mr. James and his band, would seem to require some little philosophy to explain. The ah! ah! is O! O! This is the *exposé* of all the hidden mystery of this terrific exclamation. Mr. James knew more of the Ashantee language than any white man in the country, judge then how dreadfully alarmed he must have been at such a menace from such a monarch.

Page 54. "Whilst we impress the surprising power and influence of the king, we must do him the justice to acknowledge the convincing manner in which he urged the injuries and forbearance which preceded the Fantee war; his willingness to do every thing for the forts, and the conduct of the Dutch governor in giving him the whole of the four ounces, were impressively and ingeniously associated."

But dismissing this digression, the goods that were sent to the king under my charge in payment of the notes were subjected to a rigid scrutiny, after which his majesty demanded to know their respective prices, as they stood valued upon the list. When these charges were read over, he affected the greatest astonishment, mingled with anger. "What," said he, "is it thus the governor shews his friendship for me, charging me an ounce of gold for an anker of rum, or a keg of powder; six ackies for a romal, an ounce for a piece of taffety silk, and all the other goods at the same high prices? Is this treating me like a friend and a king? Truly, I see he makes this extravagant profit, *because I would not receive the notes at four ackies a month.* This is not proper conduct in white men towards the blacks. The great God gave them much sense, and they make books that ought to speak truth; but this book is not true, for the governor puts down whatever he chuses, because he knows I cannot read. This is shameful, for when I made the book (treaty) with the other white men, I was too happy, and I sent all the trade to the governor's warehouse as he told me,* and I sent him a present of gold and slaves, and a present of slaves to the governor of Annamaboe. When I do good in this manner, how can the white men say, I wish to quarrel and make war? I like all white people, for God has made them better than the blacks, and they hold my heart. Mr. White was a good man; he always told me the truth, and never quarrelled with me or cheated me; but this governor proposes to be my friend,

* Mr. Mollan.

and when I accept his offer he deceives me, and shames me before my captains and the Fantees. When I went out to fight against Dinkra, I sent to Cape Coast for fifty kegs of powder and some lead to make shot, because I liked Englishmen best; but the governor sent my messengers away, because they had not gold enough; they then went to El Mina, and the Dutch governor gave them the powder and shot, and sent my gold back. Which was the best friend? Suppose I make an alliance with a king and he wants gold; I give it him: if he wants me to help him, I must go and fight for him too; and then he knows I have a true heart, and love him like a brother."* God made white and black men: he loves all men; he does not say they must not be friends because they differ in colour. White men read books, and know the great God, therefore the blacks say, these are strong people; their fetische is good. This is true, but then they must not do evil. Now when I send gold to Cape Coast to buy goods, and the governor does not know it, so I buy powder at two and three kegs to the ounce, and three ankers of rum to the ounce, and seven ackies for the best guns, and I get one hundred bars of lead for two ounces. The Dutch governor always pays me fairly, he same as if I buy in the

* During the speech of the king, the parties mentioned in page 117, were again called forward to await judgment. The palaver itself was subsequently explained to me by Kantoma. It seemed a relation of this man, having married a very young girl belonging to a good family in Coomassy, carried his bride away, with intention to solemnize the nuptials at Coransah, among his own tribe, a race descended from a branch of Moslem Mandings called Salkoh. On the route, at a short distance from the capital, she had been clandestinely seized upon by a party of men, dragged into the forest, violated, and beaten in a cruel manner. The assailants then effected their escape, leaving the unfortunate girl to her fate in a trackless thicket, where, after long search, she was discovered, in a bruised and lacerated state, but could give no account of those who had injured her.

The accused, a heathen, pleaded, in the course of his examination, a prior claim to the girl, who, he alledged, had been betrothed to him from infancy; but he denied all knowledge of the criminal transaction, or indeed that his intended bride had ever been disposed of in favour of another. The Moslem, who, it seems, had selected this man upon suspicion only, was unable to establish proof, and in this stage of the trial, the king commanded the accused to pass the ordeal termed the "fetische of truth," a poisonous beverage usually administered to suspected criminals.

town, and I get good things; but when the governor of Cape Coast sends me articles, they are bad;—the rum is watered, and the powder is all dust, like charcoal. I think a white man cannot do this; therefore I say to my captains, See what the Fantees do; they cheat me, and dishonour the English governor. Then my captains take up the sword, and swear they must march to the water side, and live in the towns. But I do not want to kill old men and women and children for their gold, as my soldiers do, I prefer friendship.

"The Cape Coast people, I know, are insolent; but as the governor made a book, he should not listen to them. The poor people cannot help it, if the Caboceers tell lies; but then the governor knows better. That man," added the king, pointing to Abroah, "is bad, for he belongs to the family of De Graaf; I think he was sent to put a bad palaver in your head. Then there is Aggry; he wishes, no doubt, to be thought king of Cape Coast; but he does not wish me to know that. I am the king, and there is no other king in my country. If I chuse, I can send my captains and bring his head to Coomassy. He thinks I shall not do so, because I am afraid of the castle; but this is not true. Did I not fight the Fantees under Annamaboe fort? and when the great guns killed my people, did I not fight the white men too, and did they not put out a white flag to make peace? I cannot do this now, for I know the great king, but I think he does not know the truth. Now I thank the gods you have come to see me, for you will know every thing." Here the king paused.

In reply, I defended, as far as in reason it could be done, the governor's charges. To deny that the goods might have been purchased at a much lower rate, would have required a considerable share of effrontery. I therefore maintained an argument founded upon precedent from the year 1817, admitting the possibility of purchasing goods at a lower rate, but insisting that the opportunity of doing so was accidental. I refuted his imputations to the best of my ability, although, to adopt the sentiments of Mr. Bowdich, the *king's arguments were plausible even to conviction.*

In the evening I was again summoned to the palace. I found the king seated in the society of a few captains, who were again examining the quality of these goods. "Do you tell me," said he as I entered, "that the prices I am charged are fair?" I replied evasively; but this not proving satisfactory, I affirmed that if the communication with the interior existed as formerly, they possibly would realize the prices charged upon the list. This was tender ground, I knew. In truth the prices were exorbitant. The king, not knowing how to direct his anger, abused Abroah. "Mulatto men," said he "look white and sickly, so they want to be all Caboceers, like white men." Breaking the thread of this conversation, and turning abruptly to me, he said, casting the old treaty * down, "What is the use of that book? I sent it back to the governor, and now he returns it to me. I am afraid it is a bad book. If I fight I cannot keep the book, for friends don't fight." I suffered these *royal* transports to subside, and at the close of the audience had the satisfaction to hear the king reiterate his pacific intentions.

The 8th of March was a day dedicated to superstitious rites. My friendly Moslems waited upon me in the forenoon, bringing in their train several natives of Zogho and Killinga, who had recently arrived at court. The sacrificing blade, they emphatically said, was in action at the chieftains' houses, and many human victims had been dragged into the palace yard for slaughter. "The king, they continued," is wrathful to-day. The angel of death hovers over the city; but Allah, the all-powerful, will protect the faithful." As no access could be gained either to the palace or the houses of the great officers, all public business was at a stand, and I indulged in rambling over the capital: it was desolate; no human beings were seen in the streets, and very few in the enclosures belonging to their houses; those few rejoiced at the sight of white men, and bowed their heads at a distance with timorous humility. The death drum and the horn were distinctly recognized under the outer

* The convention made by Mr. Bowdich in 1817.

walls of the palace. After the lapse of an hour the gates were again thrown open, and the people again filled the streets, resuming their customary occupations.

Upon returning to my quarters, I found several of the king's officers in waiting. They were guardedly reserved with respect to the transactions of the morning; but assured me the court was then open. Upon this information I dispatched a messenger to solicit an interview with the sovereign: but he returned unsuccessful, in company with a captain of the palace, who had been deputed to apologize on behalf of his master, for declining the meeting. This message was followed up by Adusai Ado Matta, Kankam, Agampong, and Ado Quamina, all men of superior, and some of the first rank in the cabinet and army. My former visitors retired, as the second party seated themselves and opened a desultory conversation. I was prepared for matters of more importance, to which I imagined this was a prelude.

Adusai, taking the advantage of a pause, suggested that it would afford the king great satisfaction to bring all differences to an amicable issue. "You, white captain," continued the chief, "are beloved by the king, even as his son. The Caboceers like you, and the people say, that is a fit man to talk the palaver; for the king knows he cannot tell a lie. You know the people of Cape Coast are bad; they have incurred the king's strong displeasure, because they built up a wall and said they would fight him. Now what do you think is fit to be done?" My reply was an evasive one; but as they renewed the question, I desired to know whether they had been deputed by the king to learn my sentiments privately, or whether they had been invested with authority to negotiate with me at the quarters? The answer was in the negative; they protested that their visit was one purely of courtesy, and consequently they had no diplomatic authority. On this assurance, I declined, as a matter of course, entering upon a conversation of that public importance. This resolution, which I thought would have

excited displeasure in my guests, had quite a contrary effect; a shout of approbation, coupled with a train of compliments, too fulsome to repeat, convinced me that although I was mistaken in my conceptions, these great men were not altogether so innocently engaged as they pretended.

The Bashaw and Abou Becr called in the evening; they cursed the sanguinary disposition of the government, alledging that six men and nine women had been sacrificed in the morning to the king's household gods; that these butcheries were kept from my knowledge, for two reasons: the one, that they concerned the Mission, as the king had been imploring the aid of his idols, to incline the heart of the great King of England towards him—the other that I should not have to report that the sovereign of Ashantee delighted in spilling human blood, which it was well known gave as much offence to white men as it did to Moslems.

March 9th. The audience of the 7th had excited a train of conjectures regarding the complexion of court politics, as they related to Fantee.* The interview yesterday with the chiefs had not tended to raise my hopes, and the ambiguous conduct of the court prompted me to bring matters to a speedy issue. Accordingly I framed certain preliminary articles upon the fundamental parts of the old treaty, strengthened by one or two clauses contained in my instructions, viz. for the establishment of a factory between our chief settlement and the capital; a guarantee of safety and protection to the persons and property of individuals, who might be induced to visit the interior on trading speculations, or to inculcate christian knowledge, &c.

* Strictly speaking, the town of Cape Coast is nominally distinct from Fantee, although the Ashantees class the people together as one nation, or family. The king invariably spoke of Cape Coast Town as a Fantee town.

A particular clause also specified that Cape Coast, and every other town under the guns of a British fort were to be considered entitled to the protection of the British government, and subject to the controul of the garrisons; also, that in consideration of the friendship manifested by the king of England, and the appointment conferred upon me, all grievances and disputes of a past date, and particularly the "palaver of Cape Coast," should be buried in oblivion. That the peace should be re-established by an act of renunciation on the part of the king of all and every claim or pretension, particularly those claims whereby his ambassador had been authorised to demand 1600 ounces of gold from the governor, and 1600 more from the town of Cape Coast. Thus prepared, I made my arrangements for the next audience.

At an early hour in the forenoon, a messenger came from the king, bringing in his arms a child, and under his escort several other male children, sons of the monarch. The purport of the visit was to return thanks in his majesty's name for some little presents of sugar which I had distributed among the members of his family. "Sai," continued the messenger, "says white men have good hearts, for they love little children."

I repaired shortly after to the palace, in company with the officers and Fantees. The reception I met with from the king was promising. Accordingly I explained my sentiments upon the propriety of arranging the palaver. To this the king assented, and I then solicited his attention to the preliminary articles as already explained. One of the officers read them over to him, allowing sufficient time to the linguists for interpretation. The article explanatory of the royal oath, according to the etiquette of the 1st of March, afforded the king much satisfaction. "That is proper," said the monarch. "The great God take care of your king. You must put in the book that whatever he bids me do, that I will do; for I am a true friend to my master, and I must fight when he commands."

The article guaranteeing security of life and property to merchants and missionaries visiting the interior, passed this time without a comment; as likewise that for establishing a factory on the road to Coomassy. The one relating to the encouragement of trade afforded delight. "This," said the king, "is what I want. I don't want war, that is only the talk of bad men."

The article relating to Fantee and the legislative influence of the castles on the line of coast, was listened to with great attention, but did not afford satisfaction. An interruption ensued, and the king warmly declared that he should insist peremptorily upon receiving from the Cape Coast people, as a matter of right, that obedience which was due to him in quality of their sovereign, and which they had hitherto been in the habit of paying him. They had used, he said, the most insulting language towards his person and government. Dare they fight him? If they thought so,—why pray to white men to make peace? When he was absent in the Gaman war, did they not abuse him, and say he was no longer king; that the Buntokos had killed him, and conquered his country? His captains knew this to be true, and when they were angry they said, "O king, the Fantees are a bad people, they insult you and us, you must let us go and kill them." "But," added the king, "I told them no, that would be wrong because of the treaty. When my messengers went to Commenda, with the jaw bones, the people laughed at them, called them liars, beat them, and turned them into the bush. Then they went to Cape Coast and complained to the governor, but he would not listen to them. I then sent more messengers; but they all say the Governor refuses to attend to me. He made the people build up a wall, and told them that if they would fight the king he would help them. Then he tells me that if I can come in twenty days that will be better than forty. Is that a fit message? Does he want war, to kill poor women and children and old people? Were any king to send me such a defiance, I must

undoubtedly go and fight him. But I say, captains, never mind; this is a white man's palaver, you can't talk it. The great God makes them strong people; and I don't mind the governor's talking foolishly. This I tell my captains," continued the king; "but it breaks my heart, because I love the whites. But why did the governor send to me before, to make a book of friendship, and then build a wall to fight me, and keep the people's gold himself?" By way of illustration, he added, "Suppose your king were to send a great captain to this country, with orders to enforce the obedience of the white people; and that captain were to think that because the king lives at a great distance, he would take all the gold and not pay any thing; and were to send to me and say, be you my friend and help me to fight the great king, and I will reward you; would that be right? No, certainly; I cannot do so."

The courtiers warmly approved of what the king had said. Had not the great king, they continued, sent me to reconcile all parties, and speak what was true, of whites as well as blacks? If that were the case, I could not say the king of Ashantee was in the wrong.

The king resumed the argument, and in an animated tone declared he never could or would relinquish his right of sovereignty from the conquest of Fantee, over the whole country. Elmina Town, which for wealth and population, greatly exceeded Cape Coast, acknowledged his supremacy; and the Dutch governor compelled the people to obey him, for that reason he was the friend of the Dutch. The natives themselves were his friends, and he never had any palavers there. Danish Accra, English Accra, Tantum and Apollonia never disputed his title; the people never gave him any trouble, and therefore if his power was acknowledged so far to the east as Accra, and so far to the west as Apollonia, he must surely be the master of Cape Coast which lay in the centre. The king of England, he added, was his great master, he would do all in his power to give him pleasure; but he could not think that a poor black town was an object worthy his notice. "I don't want

war," said the king emphatically; "I want the people to serve me, and serve white men. It is true I told the governor he must pay me gold, but now I see your face I am willing to relinquish that. Cape Coast, however, must give me gold, for they are my people, and if they will be insolent I must punish them: for unless I do so, all these countries will laugh, and say, What kind of king is this? The governor knows I am right, for he now sends word the people are unable to pay 1600 ounces, and that if I will abate something it will be paid. What I tell you," added the king, noticing my surprise, "is very true: here is the messenger," pointing to the man who brought the message up. This man confirmed what the king said, and concluded with an observation which he affirmed the governor had made, that the object of my visit was merely to convey some presents to him from the king of England. The linguist Abroah was pointed out as a witness, who interpreted the very message in the castle hall. "Do I speak the truth," said the messenger emphatically, "or do I tell a lie before the king and the white captain?" The linguist confirmed his statement. "Then," said the king, addressing his conversation to me, "I must be paid. I shall look to you, to the governor, and to my nephew: but it is the governor who must see to it, for he now says he will settle that palaver with me."

The arguments with which I opposed those of the king palliated the alleged offences of the Cape Coast people as far as it was practicable, although it would have been impossible to deny what in substance the king had related. I retorted, however, that the sixth article of the old treaty had been violated, in which the king pledged himself to encourage the trade of his subjects with the Cape. This article I maintained had been infringed upon, by the act of cutting off the communication between his capital and the settlements. In reply, the king said "Yes, I made that book, it speaks true now; but that is not my fault; Cape Coast did the first wrong: they sold some Ashantees off the Coast, and seized their property. Fourteen traders went to Tantum, and the Fantees stole all their gold and ivory, and sold them

for slaves to a ship. Another time they seized two Ashantees, and killed them for the Fetische. When the traders heard these things it made them stay at home, for they were frightened; and so those who wanted trade went to Elmina, because the Dutch governor takes care of my people. If the traders will not go to Cape Coast, I cannot help it. I did not break the law, the governor broke it."

I desired to know upon what grounds the king had thought proper to demand gold of the governor. The reply was laconic, "For breaking the law." This, I maintained, was illegal and unjustifiable, either upon the face of the treaty, or by the laws of nations. The answer was, "I made that book (clause) with the white men; they told me if I broke the law, I was to pay gold; and if the governor broke it, he must pay it. Now all the people know it was the governor who broke it; for when Cape Coast was insolent, he would not hear my palaver; but told them to give the gold to him, and fight the king. Here is the book," added his majesty, handing me the treaty to peruse. "You will find the gold mentioned in it." Upon inspection, I assured him that no such clause was to be found. "No!" said the king, musing as he spoke, "then true it is the other white men cheated me. Here are my captains, they will speak true; and here," pointing to one of my own servants, "is a Fantee who came up to Coomassy with the white men the other year, he must tell true." This man, whose name was Coffee, declared he was present when the treaty was read over, and that it was explained to the king precisely as he had stated. I then told the king that I would neither dispute his word, nor the evidence; but certainly I knew that neither Mr. Bowdich nor his uncle were authorized to agree to pay money on account of the king of England, in a case of that kind; for when my master was forced into palavers, nothing but war could settle the dispute.

The discussions had been protracted to an unconscionable length, and fatigue only terminated the business of the day.

The importance of evidence, at this crisis, prompted me to obtain

it of those who were present. The following is a sketch in abstract from an original document.

We, the undersigned officers and gentlemen, who accompanied the Mission under charge of Consul Dupuis, were present at the audience of the 9th of March, &c.

The king declared it to be his fixed resolution not to give up his lawful claim to the sovereignty of the maritime towns and provinces of which Cape Coast formed a part. He declared that the governor, so far from disputing that point with him, was actually negociating for the people, and had appealed for a reduction of the demand of 1600 ounces of gold, which it was represented was more than they could afford to pay. The messenger and the linguist Abroah both corroborated what had been stated, the former with many vehement protestations of sincerity. The king moreover declared, that as he had "seen the consul's face," he gave up his pretensions of 1600 ounces of gold demanded by him of the governor.

He (the king) protested that he had been deceived by Mr. Bowdich, who had distinctly told him before his captains, and in the presence of the consul's servant Coffee, that the penalty for breaking the law was a fine of gold, &c.

The consul told the king that he did not dispute his word; but a treaty so framed was not valid, nor was it a treaty, as the governor had no authority to pay him money on account of the king of England.

Witness our hands, &c.

Signed BENJAMIN SALMON.
FRANCIS COLLINS.
D. MILL GRAVES.
WILLIAM HUTTON.

The second declaration was as follows:

I, George Abroah, recently appointed linguist to the Mission, &c. do certify that the message sent by the governor to the king, and interpreted by me, &c. was in substance as follows:

"The king must not demand any gold from the castle, and for the claim upon the town of Cape Coast, the governor promises to settle that palaver, provided the king will take something off, &c. The gentleman who was carrying up presents from England, had nothing to do with the palaver, and merely came out from the king of England to see him."

In witness, &c.
The mark of ⋈ GEORGE ABROAH.

Witnesses,
FRANCIS COLLINS.
DAVID M. GRAVES.

The clauses in the former convention which the king pointed out at as militating against the governor, were as follows:—

Article 4. In order to avert the horrors of war it is agreed, that in any case of aggression on the part of the natives under British protection, the king shall complain thereof to the governor, and that he will in no instance resort to hostilities without endeavouring as much as possible to effect an amicable arrangement.

Article 7. The governors of the respective forts shall at all times afford every protection in their power to the persons and property of the people of Ashantee, who may resort to the water side.*

* The Treaty, as published in Mr. Bowdich's work, compared with what was actually written, and deposited with the king, is a garbled statement. I cannot say less. In the original document, which is now in my keeping, the pompous name of Boitene-Quama, king of Dwabin, is nowhere to be found. It would seem that this association of two sovereigns was calculated to awaken a more lively interest, and thus only can I account for an attempt to deceive government and the public, by means, I believe, unprecedented in the annals of British diplomacy. The article, No. 9, shewing the king's disposition to send his own children to Cape Coast for education is falsely inserted, and every other article is disfigured or misrepresented more or less.

I cannot dismiss this subject without adverting to the 3d Article of the same convention, which, by comparison with its fellows, and particularly with the two above quoted, carries upon its face an air of absurdity. It runs thus. "The king of Ashantee guarantees the people of Cape Coast from the hostilities threatened by the people of Elmina." How such an article will harmonize with the assumption of a legal jurisdiction over the towns in Fantee, &c. I know not; neither does it seem to become the dignity of the British Government in Africa to stipulate for the independency of its towns with a native prince, and in the same contract to expose its incapacity to afford protection to the inhabitants, even against a single town of the Ashantee confederacy.

Mr. Hutton having expressed anxiety, for some days past, to return to the coast, I gave consent to it; but the king affected some scruples which it required a little management to remove. "What," said the king, "is he already tired of stopping with me. He must not leave, or he will carry down a bad palaver to the castle." The fear of denial increased the anxiety of the applicant; so at least his countenance indicated. "Tell him to stay," said the king, "and not to be afraid. Never mind the palaver, I am a true friend to the English for all that, and I cannot hurt him." Finding that this exhortation had not the desired effect, he added "Stop with your captain, and I will make a great feast and call all my caboceers together, that they may give plenty of presents to my friends." Mr. Hutton's perturbation was more and more visible. "I see," continued the king "he is fearful that I shall not do what is right." "Is it your wish," addressing himself to me, "that he should go?" "He has my permission," I replied. "Then let him go," said the king; "but tell him he is my friend too, the same as other white men, and, therefore, when he goes back he must not talk foolishness, and tell lies, or he will do you wrong as well as me." With this congé and a cordial shake of the royal hand, Mr. Hutton departed for Cape Coast, much gratified, by his own confession, at his release from what he conceived hazardous duty.

On the 10th of March the king secluded himself within the palace, and declined transacting public business; the day was considered of an ominous cast. It being Friday, and consequently the *Sabbath* of the Moslems, I received the visits of my old acquaintance the Bashaw, Kantoma and Abou Becr, attended by a numerous party of their friends from the interior; among whom was an aged Sheikh or chief, a native of Kassina, who had been many years established in Yandi. The intelligence he communicated of the interior was founded upon a long residence at other courts, particularly those of Bargho Zogho, Youry, and Dahomy. He had never, he said, been so far to the eastward as Bornou. This man affected all the austerity of a Morabth (maraboo), among the Arabs, with whom he claimed consanguinity, by descent, from the conquerors of the Niger.

March 11th. I received some presents of wine, fish, and fruit, from the king, with a message couched in the usual form of salutation, and an injunction to meet his majesty in the palace. On repairing thither, I found him actively engaged in a crowd of artificers, soldiers, captains, and labourers. "I am building," said the king to me as I entered, "a fort like Cape Coast Castle; but I shall make it very high that I may look out and see all the town." A number of large and small trees had been cut in the forest and dragged to the spot with infinite labour. These were sunk two or three feet in the ground, and reared at certain distances apart, forming in mass a small quadrangular enclosure, supported by other trees of less dimensions, attached crossways by horizontal and diagonal supporters, lashed together by fibrous vegetable cordage. "Do you know, captain," said his majesty, "why I sent for you? That building you see is to be made very grand. The inside shall be gold, ivory, and *brass-pan*;* so you must tell my great master I do it for his sake to honour him, that the people may know it was a great day when I saw your face; and that all the black countries may

* The Fantee term for brass, which is always imported in the form of pans.

know I am a great king here. Now white men know me, I must live in a great house as white kings do; then I shall not be ashamed when more white people come. You must say a strong prayer to the great God, and make proper Fetische for me, the same as my master's Fetische. Those workmen," continued the king, pointing with his finger to some who were engaged, "were sent me by the Dutch governor, for Ashantees are fools at work; they can only fight."

The king was in a vein of good humour, laughing immoderately at the awkward manner in which his own people, courtiers and labourers together, elevated the stems and secured the lashings. The building in every part was so thickly covered with human beings, of the sable hue, in all postures and attitudes, that it required but a small effort of the imagination to compare the *coup-d'œil* to a legion of demons, attempting in mockery a *Babel* of modern invention. So eager were these men in their occupation, and so delighted were they to catch the smiles of Royalty, to which they responded with shouts, songs, and even *capers*, that it is astonishing some fatal accident did not occur.

Deeming this an auspicious moment to attract the king's attention, I endeavoured to prevail on him to talk upon business. But he replied, "I sent for you to-day to laugh and play with me, because my heart is glad. To-morrow I shall hear the palaver. It is true the Fantees make me very angry; but never mind, you must not take too much trouble."

In the course of a promiscuous dialogue, I suggested that it would afford me pleasure to meet the king of Juabin (spelt Dwabin.) "The king," replied the monarch, with some appearance of jealous indignation, "who is he? Am not I the king? Is there another king then besides me? Does the book say that too? If so, it spreads a shameful lie in the white country. Ah!" said he, with increased irritation, "I see—I see white men can tell lies, and put them in books too. Ask my captains," added the monarch, throwing himself ostentatiously back

in the chair; "ask all the Fantees, if they know any other king besides me. Shame! great shame!"*

March 12th. An audience was granted this morning. The king desired that the articles of the new treaty might be explained to him again. He listened patiently throughout; after which, with great emphasis, he reverted to many of his former arguments, insisting as before that Fantee, with all its towns, was inseparably united to the empire, from the date of its conquest; and that he had always received tribute, more or less, from the days of governor Torrane, and that his just title should never be wrested from him, unless by force of arms. "Did the king of England," continued he, "say that the people should be exempted from paying gold to their king? If not, how could I attempt to vindicate the conduct of his rebellious subjects. I think," said the monarch, in thundering indignation, "that the governor told the other white men to cheat me, for the book does not speak the truth: yet even so I have never broken the law; but the governor has broken it, for he promised to take care of my people." It was no pleasure to him, he said, to make palavers; but he could not submit to insults before his captains. The king of England he knew was a powerful monarch, and white men were superior to blacks; but the great god made justice for all, and oaths of friendship written in a book were sacred; they were sacred, he added, in Africa, where men did not write them down on paper: they were the same as Fetische. For his part, it was well known his people could fight, and if he thought proper he could easily destroy every fort in the country; but it neither suited his inclination, nor his policy; because himself and his ancestors owed all they possessed to the trade they enjoyed with white men. He loved all white

*. The reader by a reference to page 125 of Mr. Bowdich's work, will be able himself to detect what does appear a deliberate imposition; for the author therein admits that Boitinnee Quama only attested the treaty of 1817, as a witness, certainly the day after its ratification. *Ahen* which is the title of king, in the Ashantee language, does not even belong to him; although he of Banna, and the ruler of Gaman, are both entitled to it.

people; but particularly the English, from the knowledge he had of governors Torrane and White: they gave him up his great enemy king Cheboo. When the white flag, said the king, somewhat exultingly, was lowered over the battlements of Annamaboe Castle, was it not done to make friends, for fear the place should be taken the next day with all the goods and money contained in it; and when he made peace did he not give a convincing proof that he was a king and a friend? The whites sold him guns and powder; he liked that trade, for his was a *war country;* he could not therefore carry them back to the sea coast to turn against his best friends: yet Mr. Smith* made him very angry, and if he had not seen my face, and if he did not know that his great master wanted peace, and a good trade, he would surely visit Cape Coast with destruction, and people it with better men. Then he would make a palaver with "*Smitty*" in his own house.

It would swell this volume to an enormous bulk were I to recapitulate each argument the king employed, and its numerous repetitions. They were, however, extremely convincing. My duty, nevertheless, was clear; and policy suggested the necessity of resisting the force of such language; but my efforts were not successful, and I was about to depart on this occasion without being able to soothe the angry monarch, who, however, observed my chagrin, and before I could escape sent a captain to call me back. "Don't be angry," said he; "I love you much; I must do what old men say; I cannot help it." This was the eve of a religious festival called Little Adai.

On the 12th this custom was ushered in by the discharge of fire arms, and the sound of many barbarous instruments. Numbers of victims were offered up to the gods, although secretly, in the palace and the houses of the chieftains. The poorer classes sacrificed cattle or poultry. The city itself exhibited the most deplorable solitude,

* The king having about this time learned to pronounce the governor's name, he frequently spoke of him personally by the name of *Smitty*.

and the few human beings who were courageous enough to shew themselves in the streets fled at the approach of a captain, and barricadoed the doors of their huts, to escape the danger of being shot or sacrificed. The doleful cries of the women vibrated from several quarters of the city, and the death horns and drums within the palace seemed to stupify the obnoxious prisoners and foreign slaves with horror, as they contemplated the risk they were exposed to. I wandered about during this awful day, until fatigue and disgust led me to seek my quarters. The Fantees now did not care to stir abroad, and my Moslem acquaintance kept within their houses, as they afterwards assured me, to avoid the sight of the butcheries. Oppressed with bodily and mental fatigue, I mounted my horse and rode into the forest. The business of the day was not over at my return, and my efforts to gain access to the palace were ineffectual.

The following day, one of a similar train of horrors succeeded, and still I was left in suspense, for my own linguists and messengers were not hardy enough to knock at the royal gate. They dreaded, they said, the Fetische men, who guarded the avenue, and who alone were suffered to enjoy free ingress. The society of the Moslems, however, in some degree reconciled me. By these people I was given to understand that seventy men and women had been put to death the day previous in the palace only; besides those who were sacrificed in private houses, and in the forest. Most of these unhappy beings were Gaman prisoners of war, who had been purposely reserved as an offering to the gods; the others were criminals, or disobedient slaves. Such was the explanation I received.

This evening a courier arrived from Accra, bringing me letters from a correspondent. The journey he had accomplished with some labour and difficulty in fifteen days.

The 15th was the last day of the custom, and I received a summons to attend the king. Anxious as I was, I lost no time in

complying with the requisition, attended by Messrs. Collins, Salmon, and Greaves, the three gentlemen who staid with me; but my disappointment was renewed upon perceiving the order of the day to be that of ceremony.

The courtiers were habited in full costume, as on the day of entry. The king himself was clothed in an under garment of blood-stained cotton; his wrists and ancles were adorned with fetische gold weighing many pounds. A small fillet of plaited grass, interwoven with gold wire and little consecrated amulets, encircled his temples. A large white cotton cloth which partly covered his left shoulder, was studded all over with Arabic writing in various coloured inks, and of a most brilliant well formed character. His body in other parts was bare, and his breast, legs, the crown of his head, and the instep of each foot, were streaked with white clay. It was remarkable that this distinction was not general throughout the assembly.

Upon receiving the king's hand, which he presented with the utmost affability, I noticed a streak of dried blood upon his forehead, and this token appeared to be universal, as well among officers of distinction as their slaves and retainers. It denoted their participation in the late sacrifices. The royal death stool, clotted with the still reeking gore of its victims, stood on one side of the king, under care of the captain executioner, who attended with his band of assistants. At the feet of the sovereign, stood a small firepot, and a trunk fitted up with a compound medley of relics and charms soaking in blood

Before I could gain access to the King, I was surrounded on all sides by a juvenile band of warriors, who flourished their knives, axes, and scimiters over my head, as on other state occasions.

The Moslems also were assembled in a separate band, to the number of about three hundred, who had also met together by invitation, to congratulate the king and partake of his good cheer at the custom.

His majesty sent me a canopy and a royal troop, desiring I would seat myself among his great captains, as he was going to distribute presents. This he did with a liberal hand to every chief, and my share of the bounty was a fat sheep, and a bottle of rum. Even the Fantees received for their portion four sheep and two kegs of rum.

When the distribution was over, the captains rose, and one by one saluted the king in martial procession. Having no better occupation on hand, I devoted my leisure to sketching a representation of the close of the custom.*

I received a message from the king, on the 16th of March, running thus "The king thinks you talk reasonably; but then, when you say the Fantees must not pay him, he thinks you are a better friend to the Fantees than to him."

As I foresaw that no good could be done by a distant correspondence, I once more demanded an audience. The request was granted, and the king opened the discussions, by various conciliatory arguments, styling the king of England his great master, the king of kings, the king of white men, &c." He refused, however, to talk the palaver that day, alleging it was a bad day. I acquiesced, but demanded to be informed what were the expectations regarding the people of Cape Coast, that I might know whether my duty warranted a longer stay in the capital, or not; but the question being artfully evaded, I was compelled, however reluctantly, to return to my quarters unsatisfied.

The Cabboceer Boitenee Quama, sent me, on the 17th of March, a fat kid and some vegetables. The bearer delivered a message, saying "Boitenee salutes you, and makes his best compliments. He is glad to hear you are the king's friend, for that makes you his friend too."

I waited in suspense the whole of this forenoon for the promised

* See the Plate.

audience, and at last sent the canes to the palace. The king, however, did not return me an answer so promptly as was due; and as I was then in possession of a public letter * from Cape Coast Castle, specifying the amount of tribute awarded there as a peace offering to the king, I determined to urge the business. Thus resolved, I sallied forth, attended by my party, at a late hour in the afternoon. My messengers and the linguists were waiting at the outer fence. But as I approached, the palace gates were thrown open, and the king soon appeared and took his seat. I pleaded the long suspense he had kept me in; the many fruitless conferences, &c. and the great expence attending the mission: added to which, the inflexibility of his disposition tended to render abortive all those benevolent views which my sovereign entertained for his benefit and that of his people. All these advantages and more, I continued, he was likely to be bereft of, by his personal inflexibility, and his attachment to councils which teemed with hostility against an object comparatively below his dignity to notice; and actually so as competing with those great objects for which I had been sent to his court.

The king listened with lively attention, then instinctively rising from his seat, he said, "White man, what you say is good. I like you because you speak the truth, and I am sure you are my friend; but what can I do? I must listen to what the old men say." Turning his head round to the captains, he said, "Hear this talk, it is rational; and it is a strong palaver, for it belongs to the king of kings. We must look to it." Here his majesty paused; but the answer not satisfying me, I proceeded to state that it was my intention to return to the Coast, requesting that a day might be appointed for my departure, unless he would pass his word to settle the palaver at an appointed time. The reply was, "I am sorry to hear you say so, for all my great captains are

* This letter from the governor and council stated that 100 ounces of gold was the utmost the people were inclined to pay, and that I should not (at the risk, it is presumed, of every object of the mission), negotiate upon any other terms.

coming to town to see you. Never mind the palaver, we will talk it over at another time." I demanded to know, as he declined talking upon business, why he detained me, contrary to my duty; and whether or not I was to consider myself a prisoner. At the bare mention of the word the countenance of the king changed, and he evidently laboured under anxiety, as he said I had broken his heart. "Do you think," said he, "I can act thus to my great master's, captain? No: were he to send me a slave, and say he did not want me for a friend, I could not do that." At this pause I made a sort of ambiguous apology; but being resolved to gain a decided answer, I assured him that I did not doubt his word, but was instigated by a sense of duty to my sovereign's great officers, to whom I must account for the time that had been expended.

I next introduced the dispatch I had received from Cape Coast,* and read its contents to the king. A pause, of the duration of a minute or more, added to a fiery glance of the eye, convinced me of the operation of his mind; nor was the brooding tempest longer confined within its boundary, for raising his voice to its utmost elevation, and assuming a countenance of demoniacal phrenzy, he threw himself convulsively back in his chair, clenched his fists, and stretched forth his arms and legs, assuming, as it were, the rage of madness, while he bellowed out the most direful imprecations against the natives of Cape Coast, not excepting those present, or even my soldiers; nay Mr. Graves also participated in these anathemas. The foam all the while flowed down his beard in copious discharges, and the saliva spurted from his mouth upon all around him. His ministers even betrayed emotion; some stood aghast, and others applied their forefingers to their heads and breasts, muttering all the while their

* This letter, I should have observed, had been detained by the king for several days before he transmitted it to me. He was jealously suspicious of the arrival of any letters or messengers from the Coast, during our conferences.

respective charms, to avert impending evil. Occasionally the king spoke with less acrimony; his paroxysms were less violent; then again he would relapse into all his former fury, calling to his aid all the powers of his household gods, the Fetische of his country, &c. At one interval he vociferated, "White men come to my country to trade—what have they to do with my slaves? They build castles and houses to live in; they stay as long as they like, then take the gold and go home again; but they never take mulattos and blacks, for they are their servants: the great God made them so; they are bad men. *Smitty* cheats me, and joins the Fantees to raise a laugh. The forts are mine, because I hold the books (notes), but I don't say they belong to me to keep. I say they stand in my country to trade with the people. By that great oath (the battle of Cormantine or Accromanti), the Cape Coast people ought to die. Let me go there," said the king to me, rising from his chair—"let me have the jaw-bones of Aggry and De Graaf. I don't want their gold; I want the blood of bad men to wash my stool. I cannot fight the whites, they are my friends."

The Fantees stood petrified with fear. Exhaustion alone seemed to overpower the king, and I thought it advisable to leave him time for cool reflection. My forbearance had the desired effect, for after the lapse of some minutes, he said, in his usual tone, "Forgive me, captain; this is what the bad people do to me, therefore be not angry. Do not tell my master I am angry, because I have a good heart towards him and all white men. I have no palaver with them. But for the blacks, *I am king*, and I will be paid, or I will kill them. Why does the governor send a message, saying he will settle the palaver with me, and then send you a book to pay a hundred ounces of gold?" Muttering this, the royal indignation seemed to have entirely evaporated. Another pause ensued: and at length the king said, "This palaver, I see, cannot be talked here; but you shall settle it for me with my nephew at Cape Coast, and what you say is right I will

take." Anxious again to gloss over the breach in his manners, he alleged that he was overcome by anger ; but if I thought him a friend, such as he really was, I should forgive it.

Torches were introduced, (for it was already dark,) before the discussions ceased. The king having expressed a wish to see the properties of the magic lanthorn displayed, the powers of that instrument were exhibited by Mr. Salmon. As the figures were made to perform, the king involuntarily seized me by the coat, then by the hand, as if apprehensive that I should quit him in the dark. He thought it was *Fetische ;* but being assured to the contrary, he said, " Ah ! I see then it is made for laughter and sport." Indeed it afforded no real interest. It was enquired if the great king (of England) amused himself so. At last the monarch turned his back upon it, leaving the entertainment to his courtiers. The friendly obscurity concealed the colour that suffused my own cheek, when I replied that it was an instrument adapted to the Harem, and the amusement of his children. This seemed to agree with his own conceptions, for he instantly added " I see it is good for that ; good night." At parting he said he would *sleep over the palaver*, and see me again in the morning.

March 18. The forenoon passed away in anxiety, for no messenger came from the palace. My Moslem friends paid me a visit in the interval, and from them I learned that the king was engaged in close conference with his ministers ; that Apoko, Ado Quamina, Agampong, and the whole of the army interest were implacable in their resentment at what they termed the presumption of their vassals, who had dared to stipulate for the price of their own insolence; and that a very great majority in the assembly of chiefs loudly cried out for war. Yet the king was averse to it. He, Adusai, Amon Koitea, Kankam, and Ado Matta, opposed the torrent. " We have just given our opinions," said the friendly Bashaw, " to the king in private, that a war will ruin him in the land of the whites, and perhaps your Sultan will

send a great army to conquer the country. We should not be sorry," said he, in a laughing whisper, "to see white men here; but we have told the king what we believe to be the truth, for that is our duty, and he has been good to me. The Bashaw sent Abou Becr again to the palace to get information." At his return I learned that the king threatened every opposer in the council, and insisted upon an unconditional submission to his plan of negotiation.

The hour of four succeeded, and still no invitation came from the palace, I therefore dispatched another messenger, demanding an interview in the most positive terms. But this messenger was also unattended to. Again I renewed the application, forbidding the linguists to return without obtaining an answer. The lapse of another hour convinced me that they had met with no better success. A little irritated at this neglect, I assembled the officers and Fantees, with whom I proceeded to the outer gate, which was instantly thrown open at my approach. It was then dusk, and his majesty was seated by torchlight among his chief captains. Some of his children of both sexes were playing about his knees. My reception was courteous, and I was forced to place my chair by the side of the king, who assumed a look of inquiry, indicating a desire to know the purport of my late visit. This opened the business, and I requested to be informed what resolution had been adopted regarding the palaver. To which he replied, he could not tell me more than I knew: the palaver, he thought, must be talked at Cape Coast. I complained that insincerity lurked under his answer. "By the great God you serve," said the king, "and by my gods, what I tell you is true, you shall settle all for me." Still I persisted; the necessity of returning was now greater than before, and I hoped he would appoint the day. "you must not go," said the king, "you have done me good, and I must do you good." Being determined to bring the business to an issue, at all reasonable risks, I insisted that my detention looked like political craft, and as

such, it was impossible I should think otherwise than that I was kept as a hostage for the liquidation of the demand made upon Cape Coast, however exorbitant it might be.

Sable as the royal countenance is, I distinctly saw the blood mount to his cheeks. His concern was mingled with real anxiety. "What," said he, "do you still think me a bad man? Do not leave me; you cannot go now, for you must make me a book to be good friends with the king of England, as the other book tells lies." I assured the king, I was convinced of his friendly disposition; but as he chose to oppose a settlement of the palaver with the natives, it was not clear to me that my duty warranted a longer stay in the capital; and therefore I was necessitated to insist upon having a day appointed for my return. These words were strengthened by a formal invocation in the name (upon the head, as it is called in Africa,) of the king of England.* The linguists hesitated at the interpretation. The king perceived it, and desired they would interpret truly. This injunction was reluctantly obeyed. They attempted to soften the

* The words were—"I swear upon the head of my master, you shall settle the palaver in three days or appoint next week for my return to the Cape. If you do not I am surely a prisoner, and you may put me to death." This style of invocation is considered too serious to be trifled with, and perfectly in consonance with African customs, although its application by natives, particularly to crowned heads, or men in power, is often attended with dangerous consequences. This by way of illustration—

An Ashantee of good family visited the Cape at the time Mr. Bowdich was at Coomassy. As he was passing the castle gate, a Fantee sentinel upon duty desired him to cast off his cloth, to leave the shoulders bare, in conformity to a custom exacted from the towns-people. The fiery spirit of the Ashantee refused compliance with a law which he could not comprehend. A scuffle ensued, and the offender was securely conveyed into the fort, where, by Mr. Smith's order, he was thrown into a dungeon, known by the name of the "slave hole." Probably no greater injury would have been done the man than a night's imprisonment. Be this as it may, the Ashantee resisted, and suffered some injury in so doing, when he invoked Sai (the name of his sovereign), swearing upon his head that Mr. Smith should hear his palaver or kill him outright. The appeal had no effect, and in the morning he was dragged from his subterraneous lodging a corpse, having strangled himself, as it is understood, on the governor's head. Mr. Smith, indeed, wrote a letter, as may be seen in Mr. Bowdich's work, to palliate or justify his conduct, for what had occurred, and the affair was buried in oblivion, through the king's declared affection for white people.

force of the language by a partial translation. It was enough, however; the countenance of the king fell; grief and vexation were strongly pourtrayed on his features, and he started from his chair with a sudden bound, saying, "you break my heart! you break my heart! Indeed I cannot do wrong. But the great king is my master, and I must go to council." He then retired to the council chamber, followed by the captains who were in attendance.

My duty prompted this step, but let me confess I was struck with remorse at the pain I had given him; for I had abundant reasons for feeling respect and even attachment to this prince. After the lapse of some minutes he returned, and appointed Monday the 27th of March for my departure. "Then, said the king, you shall settle all with my nephew there, for he must be paid, and the soldiers must be paid; but I want only what you shall say is proper to settle a great palaver. You were angry and used high words, but I think you are a friend, and I overlook that."

CHAPTER V.

RETURN OF THE MISSION.

PRESENTS FROM THE MOSLEMS—DIPLOMATIC ADVICE—FAREWELL VISITS—FORT GEORGE—PROPOSED EMBASSY FROM THE KING OF ASHANTEE—EXAMINATION OF PLATE OF VARIOUS EUROPEAN MANUFACTURES—MERCHANDIZE SUITABLE FOR AFRICAN MARKETS—VISIT FROM THE KING TO THE QUARTERS OF THE MISSION—JEALOUSY OF THE ASHANTEE CHIEFS—DISCUSSIONS ON THE CAPE COAST PRICES—ON THE SLAVE TRADE—THE KING'S WARS—BARDIC RECITATIONS—EXPOSURE AND HARSH TREATMENT OF A CAPTIVE PRINCE—SIGNATURE OF A TREATY—THE KING'S COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL PLANS—PECULIARITIES OF AFRICAN COMMERCE—AUDIENCE OF LEAVE—TROOPS OF SLAVES INTENDED FOR THE KING OF ENGLAND—INSTRUCTIONS TO THE ASHANTEE AMBASSADORS—PRESENTS TO THE KING OF ENGLAND—TO THE ENVOY—CEREMONIES OF NAMING THE ASHANTEE FORT—EXTRAORDINARY CONDESCENSION OF HIS MAJESTY ON TAKING LEAVE—MORTIFICATION OF THE MOSLEMS AT THE AUTHOR'S REJECTION OF THE KORAN—DEPARTURE—HEAVY RAINS—LIBERATION OF A SLAVE—JOURNEY TO CAPE COAST—DISAVOWAL OF THE TREATY BY THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—FANTEE CONSPIRACY—PROTEST—SIR GEORGE COLLIER REFUSES TO CONVEY THE AMBASSADORS TO ENGLAND—CORRESPONDENCE—OBSERVATIONS—RETURN OF THE AUTHOR TO EUROPE.

MARCH 19th. The king, as usual, sent me the morning salutation.

The Moslems again visited me in their robes of ceremony; each, according to his rank, bringing with him a present of vegetables, bread, fowls, honey, &c. The hospitable gifts of the chiefs were more considerable. From the Bashaw I received a sheep, a large cotton cloth, &c. Kantoma gave a sheep and a small collection of national weapons. Abou Becr, Soumah, and many more, made presents in proportion. They felicitated me on the settled disposition of the court

for peace. The king, they observed, had expressed his sentiments that morning, declaring in the most decided terms, that he would leave his interest in the negotiation to his nephew and myself. The governor of Cape Coast was to have a voice also. "Allah is my witness," said the Bashaw, "I have served you as I would my own son; and I thank him the king's heart was open to my advice. We shall all be sorry to lose you; but come up again as soon as the palaver is settled, for the king loves you much, and you may do great good for whites, blacks, and Moslems. But if you could settle it here, that is what I should like. Can you not give the king 400 ounces?" "No," I replied, "I am not authorized to do so." Abou Becr joined in the conversation: "Give," said he, "300 to the king, ten to Amon Koitea, the same to Adusai, and six to Apoko, and I am sure you will settle it at once." "It was impossible," I said.

March 20th. This day I received several deputations from chieftains who govern the surrounding country, and others; Ado Matta and Apoko were of the number, and each was attended by a select band of armed men, preceded by musical instruments. In the course of the day the arrival of some of the king's sword-bearers announced the approach of some members of the royal family. These were the king's sons, named Ouso Kro Ahen, Ouso Akoteah, Ouso Gamadouah, Ouso Yaou, and Ouso Quantabisa. These young men were between the ages of twelve and twenty-five. They had received instructions from their father, they said, to pay their compliments to me; and each came attended by a number of slaves, bearing loads of provisions.

The Bashaw and a party of Moslems called upon me again this forenoon. They had seen Adusai, they said, in private, and that minister was disposed to negotiate with me, provided I would pass my word to the king for three hundred ounces, and about thirty more to be divided among the disaffected chiefs at the capital, and the little army at Cape Coast. "Do this," said the good Bashaw, "and you will immediately have a party that shall carry all before them

in the cabinet; for the king is disposed to do all he can for you, but he must not oppose his great captains, because they say it is for his good. The king does not want gold, and if you were to give him a thousand ounces, he would distribute it all among his captains, to make them friends to the whites. Do so, do so, my son," added the chief, "give him three hundred, it will gladden all our hearts, and we will then go boldly to the king, with Adusai, and those of his party, and I promise you, by the assistance of our holy prophet, we will not leave the court until every thing be adjusted to your satisfaction, and the king's. If you have not gold enough, never mind that, for we will lend it you to any amount, if you will only stay with us. The king himself will lend you gold, if you prefer it." Abou Becr and Kantoma united their entreaties, but all was in vain; the decided tone of the letter from Cape Coast was imperative. I had long esteemed these friends, but now they were possessed of my whole heart. Indeed the Moslems, in many unrecorded instances, evinced a genuine solicitude for the welfare of the Mission, and anxiety for my personal good.

The king sent for me towards the close of this conversation. I found him on foot, taking a circuit round the palace walls. "Ah!" he ejaculated, as I approached him, "thank the gods I see you again with a good face; you are not angry with me." I assured him that so far from having been moved by real anger, I had done violence to my feelings, in urging a demand, which was exacted from me by a sense of duty only. But, I added, I never should forget his hospitality. A smile of great good-nature was the only reply. The king shewed me the progress he had made in building the fort. Then turning abruptly, he said. "You must write me a book to my master, and tell him, if he wants to make war upon the blacks, to let me know, for they shall serve him as myself. But tell him the Ashantees love him very much, because he has done me honour."

Again I demanded to know, if he had any thing to say about the native palaver. "True," replied the king, "I shall tell you more before you go. I see *Smitty* does not wish to serve the people, so he takes their gold, and says he will talk the palaver with the king. Then he tells them too, you must build a wall and fight Ashantee. By and by he sees that is a strong palaver, and he tells the people that the king is very angry, and says he must kill them; but never mind that, says he, bring me more gold, and then I will send a proper book to the king of white men, and tell him that it is his palaver, and he must send plenty of ships and soldiers. But this is all cheating; the Fantees cannot fight, and being much frightened, they ask the white men what they are to do. Then Smitty says, have you any more gold? but they say no, because they think he does not care for them. Well, says he, I shall see what to do; the white king will send soldiers by and by. But they say that will not do. Then he tells Aggry, and De Graaf and Biney, now I shall make a good palaver for the town, and the people must pay an hundred ounces to the king. This is all the talk among black men. My great master does not hear this; he does not know the governor keeps all the gold himself. So you must put down in the book what is true, then white men will not say I have a bad heart, and want to kill people to take their gold. I only kill my enemies and bad men. This is strong talk, captain, but never mind now, for I have no more disputes with white men, they are my friends, and I do not ask them for any thing; but black men must pay me."

On a former occasion, the king had proclaimed his intention of sending some of his people ambassadors to England with presents; I requested now to be informed if he still persisted in that resolution. "Yes," he replied, "I shall do so, and you must get a good linguist to tell the great king what I say." I neither opposed nor made any objections to these arrangements, which, according to my thinking, afforded a rational hope that great advantages might ultimately

accrue from it, to the renown of the British government over the wide spreading plains of Africa, and the benefit of the mercantile interests. According to the reception given to the ambassadors of this monarch, I conceived that other kings might feel inclined to tread in the steps of the sovereign of Ashantee, whereby a preponderating influence would be given to British councils either at home or on the Gold Coast, (in African affairs), and the negro potentate, with more probable hopes of success, might then be persuaded, on the return of his caboceers, to listen with attention to those humane overtures which the compassion of the age so earnestly desires to convey to the hearts of the kings and princes, who rule our sable brethren.*

On the 21st, several caboceers of rank visited me, and each deposited a small package of gold, varying from four to twelve ackeys. It was impossible to refuse acceptance without giving offence. Ouso Bannahen and Yaho Korakoo,† entered into a long detail of the Gaman war: then shifting the conversation, they said, "The king knows you are a friend to all the people; but if he thought you came up to look at the country, and then go back and send for white soldiers to join the Fantees and fight him, he must certainly kill you. Bogiabi Adoom, the king's canopy-bearer, and Ouin Bendah, a captain of the palace, paid their compliments, about noon, by the sovereign's express order. The day, as usual, was spent in the society of the Moslems, and in visits to the houses of the chieftains.

March 22d. Numerous caboceers, many of whom were from the country, called at my quarters. These were followed, in succession, by a long list of inferior captains, who were all authorized to swear attachment to the king of England. They were desired to

* The deputation of Ambassadors, however uncouth these semi-barbarians might have appeared here, is strictly in unison with African customs, and would not, it is presumed, have been more *outré* than that of the Cherokees during the American war.

† The king's stool or throne bearer, an officer of rank in the army only.

do so, they said, by the king; but they were friends independently of that, for they liked *my* palaver, and they liked me. "Now," added they, "the great king is a friend to Sai, it is all the same; he is our master too, and we will serve him."

March 23d. The preceding day, and part of this morning, had been devoted to private councils in the palace, at which the king was again compelled to exert his authority against a few ambitious chiefs of the opposing faction, who were hardy enough to persist in demanding war. Towards the afternoon, Adusai called to conduct me to the king's presence. I found his majesty seated amidst a confused heap of old battered silver utensils. "I want you, captain," said he, shewing me a tureen of that metal, "to tell me in what country this was made." I concluded it (from the stamp) to be the workmanship of Holland. "You are right," said the king. He then shewed me a bowl, a coffee-pot, some cups, &c. Some of them, I replied, were the manufacture of Spain and Portugal, others of Holland; this was also satisfactory. Lastly, he pointed to a richly chased urn, a kettle, ewer and basin. I had the good fortune again to satisfy his enquiries.

It appeared to me that the king was practising an innocent device, to put my veracity to the test. He desired next to know if they were all silver, requiring me to select the base, if any, from the pure metal. Having done as I was requested, the king said, with a smile, "I know, captain, you speak true, and cannot tell me a lie. I get these things from the whites, and I like them much, because there is no silver in this country. Some of them came from Christiansborg, some from Fantee, when I conquered the Braffoes; but most from Elmina, for the Dutch are good to me. Governor Torrane gave me a few, and many more I took in Gaman when I killed Dinkera. I spoke this to the other white men,* and they said the

* The mission of 1817.

good silver was English, and the bad Dutch; but I knew that was a lie. Now I shall give much gold to my ambassadors, and you must tell them how to buy plenty of good things, and plenty of silver like this, for I must provide every thing suitable and live like a white king."

Some very rich brocades, of various coloured patterns, were shewn me, together with pieces of crimson damask, and fine cotton cloths, which the king had just received in part of a present from the governor of Elmina. "I shall make a fine canopy of these, said the king, to carry over my head. Tell the merchants to bring plenty of those goods, I will buy them all; for what I dont want I send away to my caboceers, and I give many to the kings who live in Dagomba and other countries, near the great water (Niger.)

In obedience to a signal from the king, some eunuchs entered the Harem, and brought from thence an enormous bundle of silk and cotton goods. The latter were prints, in furniture patterns, and British chintz: the larger the pattern the more it was esteemed. The king, however, shewed some predilection for roses upon a pale blue ground; green taffety silk and Scotch plaids, in particular, were the greatest favourites of their kind. I was desired to bear in mind his choice, that I might procure him a quantity of the same patterns, for which he would pay gold, he said, to any amount.

"All my captains like these things," continued the king, "so if the great king will make a proper trade, tell him to send goods like this, and plenty of rum, and powder, and guns; and I will take care he shall have plenty of gold: not brass pan gold like what the Fantees make, but true gold. And if he likes ivory he shall have more than he wants; because, now I have no war, the people must go into the bush and shoot elephants."

I promised his majesty to bear this strictly in mind, and at a late hour returned to my quarters.

March 24th. Two of the king's sword bearers called to announce

his majesty's pleasure to honour me with a visit *at home.* To pay due respect to kingly rank, I *marshalled my forces,* and accompanied by the officers, soldiers, and Fantees, sallied forth to meet him. The sovereign of Ashantee was borne upon the heads of some captains, in a sort of litter, made of wicker, and covered with brocade. His chief officers, with the king of Banna, and a multitude of soldiers, and armed men, were on foot. As soon as the king was advised of our approach, he desired Apoko to lead me to a gateway, attached to an adjoining ruin. Here the king descended from his vehicle, and as he entered from the opposite side took me by one hand, and gave me a sort of half embrace. We then retired to one side as he motioned with his hand, that the procession should move forward under the same gateway. They inclined their bodies in passing, and the Moslems gave their *salam.* I recognized my friends, the Bashaw, Abou Becr, Kantoma, and Soumoh, the smile of self-approbation was stamped upon their countenances.

When the king entered my apartment, he instructed his linguist to inform me that the palavers had been a source of vexation to him, inasmuch as they had hitherto deprived him of sufficient leisure to visit me in a familiar way. His majesty, in compliment, accepted of a small glass of brandy. He then reclined upon my couch, telling me he had been indisposed. His nephew, Ado Braddie, seated himself at the feet of his uncle, with a large palm fan, which he waved to keep off the flies. On a sudden (as was usual with him) he started up, and addressed me in the following terms:—"White captain, I know you now, and I love you much, for what you tell me I think is good, therefore, if I should be angry, regard it not. I believe all you say is true, and I do not think you can tell lies and cheat me. To-day, you see, I come to your house for pleasure and amusement, by which the people will know you are my friend, and that I am the friend of white men. Now I have one palaver in my head which I must tell you. You say the great king sent you to my country to

make us good friends; he wants a good trade, and he does not like people to make war and fight. Then, you know, you talk much about Cape Coast and Fantee. But this palaver the great king does not hear, so he cannot tell what is right, and what is wrong. All this my captains talk among themselves, and then they say to me, take care, king, we are too much frightened: perhaps this white man comes to Coomassy to look at the country, and see if Ashantee has strong towns and people. We think he is a friend to Smitty, and the Fantees, because the people were never so insolent before he came to Cape Coast. He will go back to the water side, and say—Now bring your strong men, and fight the king; and do not pay any gold, for the great king will send plenty of men, and powder, and guns. This is what my captains say, added the monarch, for they are alarmed about me. I do not think so—I cannot see lies in your face; but then I wish to please my captains; so I told them, come with me to the white man's house, and see him with your own eyes, and hear with your own ears what he will say.

I replied with as much composure as I could assume, although with secret indignation, that if the king doubted my sincerity, and the sacred character of my mission, it would be in vain to negotiate; for unless the confidence were mutual, all the arguments I might urge in justification would be fruitlessly expended. In other countries, I added, where diplomacy was conducted upon a different system, such injurious insinuations would have been construed into a premeditated insult to the sovereign, who was represented in the person of his officer. At Ashantee, however, I knew the customs were different; yet as I did not doubt the sincerity of the king, I did consider that his majesty had been ill-advised, by calumniators, and a faction that had secret interests in keeping alive the embers of discord. After entertaining me so long, as the ambassador of a great king, who sent him presents, after hearing the king of England's book (the commission) read over; and swearing his great oath before

the people, how could the king now say I was a deceitful character, and only wanted to fight him? It was a scandal, I said, which I never expected to have heard from his lips: but now all discussions ought to be suspended, and the king might suffer me to return or not as he thought proper. I compelled the linguists to do as much justice to the interpretation as they were capable of; for the subject came home to my feelings.

"White man," replied the king, "the great God has given you good sense. I was sorry to talk so; but it is not my palaver, it is my captains; they forced me to do it against my wish. Now they hear what you say, that is enough, they cannot talk evil again: so you must not be angry, and you shall do what you please, for black men are fools, and you know best what is for my good."

The king having concluded, Apoko rose from his seat, and in the name of his compeers, said, "That is good, O king, and we are all the white men's friends, when they are yours, and do not join the Fantees to dishonour you. This white captain, therefore, must not think we want to do wrong, because we tell you to beware of the Fantees. He is a great man for his king, and says what he thinks true, and we do the same. But we are good friends for all that, and now we believe all he says is true."

The Bashaw rose, and said, "White men serve the great god, the same as ourselves, and they cannot do wrong to the king, for their law is the word of God and the great prophets."

His majesty remained above an hour longer, discoursing upon various topics; but he previously dismissed the greater part of his retinue. "What is your custom," said the king, "addressing himself to Kantoma and Abou Becr, when great men make friends?" "They swear upon the sacred book," (the Koran) was the reply. "That is good," said the king, "because then, if they keep evil in their hearts, the book must kill them." "True," added the Moslems, "the book contains holy words from the great God himself." Our law is a

is a great law; we say there is no God, but one God, the merciful, &c. "Ah!" said the king, "I like that, it is strong sense; it is the fetische of your country. Ashantee has no fetische like this; but the Ashantee custom is good also. I know that book (the Koran) is strong, and I like it because it is the book of the great God; it does good for me, and therefore I love all the people that read it." The Moslems instantly prostrated themselves, and prayed aloud: the king too extended his arms, looking upwards as if to receive a blessing.

In the afternoon I attended at the palace by appointment. The first topic of conversation related to the notes. "Look again at these books," said the king, addressing himself to me; "do you think Smitty treats me like a friend, when he charges so much for the goods I buy of him?" "I cannot say more," I replied, "on that subject." "Are they not *gold* books?" he asked. "Yes," I said. "You tell true," continued the king. "Now I will not have any more goods at those prices; and if I cannot get what is right, I will have gold. I dont say I will not take goods, for I like goods best; but then I must have them at a fair rate, the same as I can buy them." I urged that those commodities were liable to fluctuate in value, whence it would be impossible to establish prices of currency. But this reply did not satisfy the monarch; it had the semblance of a subterfuge; for he could not comprehend, he said, why Mr. Smith, for instance, should sell him one gun for an ounce of gold, when he could purchase two anywhere else for the same money, of equal or superior workmanship. And again, that an anker of rum, or a keg of powder, should be put down on the notes at an ounce, when he could buy three, or even four of the former, and certainly two of the latter, separately, for that amount. Taffeties and other manufactured goods underwent the like scrutiny, and their prices were equally condemned.

Dismissing these arguments, without attaching to them that degree of importance, by which they were distinguished at Ashantee,

I shall briefly state, that many hours were consumed in discussing this topic alone; and that at last an amicable understanding was effected, by my guaranteeing such conditional reductions in price as the state of the market might afford, after the effectual re-establishment of tranquillity and commerce. "That is what I shall look to then," said the king, "but I will not trust Smitty again. *You* shall take my notes, because my master sent you to be my captain, and to look after my affairs: then I can lie down and go to sleep." I passed my word to transact his business in the character of an agent only, alleging that my situation did not authorise me to trade like the governor, and other white men in the castle.

"Now," said the king, after a pause, "I have another palaver, and you must help me to talk it. A long time ago the great king liked plenty of trade, more than now; then many ships came, and they bought ivory, gold, and slaves; but now he will not let the ships come as before, and the people buy gold and ivory only. This is what I have in my head, so now tell me truly, like a friend, why does the king do so?" "His majesty's question," I replied, "was connected with a great palaver, which my instructions did not authorise me to discuss. I had nothing to say regarding the slave trade." "I know that too," retorted the king; "because, if my master liked that trade, you would have told me so before. I only want to hear what you think as a friend: this is not like the other palavers." I was confessedly at a loss for an argument that might pass as a satisfactory reason, and the sequel proved that my doubts were not groundless. The king did not deem it plausible, that this obnoxious traffic should have been abolished from motives of humanity alone; neither would he admit that it lessened the number either of domestic or foreign wars.

Taking up one of my observations, he remarked, "the white men who go to council with your master, and pray to the great God for him, do not understand my country, or they would not say the slave trade

was bad. But if they think it bad now, why did they think it good before. Is not your law an old law, the same as the Crammo* law? Do you not both serve the same God, only you have different fashions and customs? Crammos are strong people in fetische, and they say the law is good, because the great God made the book; so they buy slaves, and teach them good things, which they knew not before. This makes every body love the Crammos, and they go every where up and down, and the people give them food when they want it. Then these men come all the way from the great water†, and from Manding, and Dagomba, and Killinga; they stop and trade for slaves, and then go home. If the great king would like to restore this trade, it would be good for the white men and for me too, because Ashantee is a country for war, and the people are strong; so if you talk that palaver for me properly, in the white country, if you go there, I will give you plenty of gold, and I will make you richer than all the white men."

I urged the impossibility of the king's request, promising, however, to record his sentiments faithfully. "Well then," said the king, "you must put down in my master's book all I shall say, and then he will look to it, now he is my friend. And when he sees what is true, he will surely restore that trade. I cannot make war to catch slaves in the bush, like a thief. My ancestors never did so. But if I fight a king, and kill him when he is insolent, then certainly I must have his gold, and his slaves, and the people are mine too. Do not the white kings act like this? Because I hear the old men say, that before I conquered Fantee and killed the Braffoes and the kings, that white men came in great ships, and fought and killed many people; and then they took the gold and slaves to the white country: and sometimes they fought together. That is all the same as these black

* Moslem law. † Niger.

countries. The great God and the fetische made war for strong men every where, because then they can pay plenty of gold and proper sacrifice. When I fought Gaman, I did not make war for slaves, but because Dinkera (the king) sent me an arrogant message and killed my people, and refused to pay me gold as his father did. Then my fetische made me strong like my ancestors, and I killed Dinkera, and took his gold, and brought more than 20,000 slaves to Coomassy. Some of these people being bad men, I washed my stool in their blood for the fetische. But then some were good people, and these I sold or gave to my captains: many, moreover, died, because this country does not grow too much corn like Sarem, and what can I do? Unless I kill or sell them, they will grow strong and kill my people. Now you must tell my master that these slaves can work for him, and if he wants 10,000 he can have them. And if he wants fine handsome girls and women to give his captains, I can send him great numbers."

The wars of the king were shortly after introduced as a topic of general discussion. That of Gaman was the favourite subject, and the king occasionally took up the thread of the narrative, or elucidated such events as were perhaps not generally known. As he caused the linguists to interpret to me the particular feats of himself, the king of Banna and Apoko, his eyes sparkled with fiery animation, and at one period he threw himself into a sort of theatrical attitude, which appeared to be unpremeditated, and unaffected. He then seemed to be wrapped up within himself in delightful cogitations, and at this crisis, some of the auditors like the bards of "olden time," rose to the hum of the war song, and recited their parts in a pleasing mellifluous strain. The king enjoyed the scene in extacy, and frequently motioned with his body and feet in cadence with the metre of the verse. This reverie and the recitation occupied many minutes, and were ultimately succeeded by irony and satire cast upon the memory of his fallen enemy. "His scull was broken," said the king, "but I would not lose the trophy, and now I have made a similar scull of

gold. This is for my great customs, that all the people may know *I* am the king."

A slave was deputed to one of the apartments of the palace, and as he returned he deposited a chair,* which his majesty said was the regal seat of Dinkera. This piece of workmanship was studded all over with gold and silver ornaments, and silver coin of different European states. The slave again disappeared, and returned, bringing under his escort a son of that unfortunate monarch, one of the few male survivors of the race of Dinkera. A pallid hue, if so it may be termed, overspread the jetty features of the youth, as he bowed trembling before the king. The angry glance which marked his reception, excited the most painful apprehensions, and the countenance of the young man spoke woeful agony, as he endeavoured to scan the purport of the summons.

"Your father," said the king, addressing himself to the prince, "was a rebel; he was full of pride, and wanted to be a great king; he forgot when he was my slave. Is not this true? Then he wanted Sarem to help him, and sent gold to make friends. Is not that true, too? He forgot I was his master; he killed my sword bearers, and sent me an insulting message. Now I have his scull, and the jaw bones of his captains. His wives, and you, and all the people are my slaves; and when I tell you to die, you shall die as your brother did; but now you shall serve me."

The king then desired him to strip off his robe and shew me the wounds he had received in battle. The unhappy youth did as he was instructed, pointing to five or six honourable scars upon his breast, arms, and thighs, which had the appearance of gun-shot wounds. "Now," said the king to him, with a stern, sarcastic apathy, "you know your

* The stool or chair is esteemed the throne. It denotes supremacy and sovereignty in rank, not only in Ashantee, but in most eastern nations, as well as the states of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, &c.

father was a fool, and that I am the king; you did not know that before; and so now go home until I send for you again."*

It should have been recorded earlier, that the king, at intervals, before the 23d, during public and private conferences, renewed his application for the "Book," (Treaty) which he desired I should leave with him in token of "good friends," &c. with the great king. The old book, he repeatedly said, was a book of "lies and cheating," and he would by no means retain it in his possession. "Your book," said he, "will tell true, because my master sent you to me to do me good; besides, he will read your book himself; and it will be the words of friends, and of two kings. Then you must put down all he wants, and what you think will give him pleasure; and I shall look to it; for I love him much, and cannot do wrong to any of his white men; but I will fight for them and for him, if you say so."

Many more such conversations passed between us; and I framed a preliminary sketch of a treaty, which having been read over, he suggested certain amendments relative to Fantee, the town of Cape Coast, &c. Finally, on the 23d, the definitive treaty itself, coupled with certain supplementary articles, (at a later hour) received the king's signature, after a most laborious discussion, wherein every article separately was criticised and scrutinized by a full court, at which Apoko, Adusai Ado Matta, Kankam, Amon Koitea, Ado Braddie, Coffee Adukon, (the Caboceer of Amoafo) Soabin, of Doompassie, Quaky Coffee, (a captain to Amon Koitea) Eshamo Cudjo, (the head captain over Assin and Fantee) Agampong, and a few others, were present. The king seemed perfectly conscious that the treaty covenanted many articles which were calculated for the benefit of his people. He was sensible, moreover, that the commercial clauses were at least mutually advantageous. But

* This illustrious prisoner was placed under the safeguard of an inferior captain, who employed him in work at his plantations. The negro has no tender sentiment for his humbled antagonist! He was compelled, in the presence of the king, to join a chorus in the cruel *Epicedium*, or death-song, which preceded his brother's sacrifice:—an execution which was performed in his presence, with torture, and amidst the mockery and derision of the whole court.

he wished to know, he said, how much he was likely to benefit individually, by encouraging a free export and import trade with inland states, such as I had on several occasions impressed upon his mind, by making his capital the depôt of British manufactured goods and African produce. I explained the usage of Europe in regard to commerce foreign and domestic, shewing that every article in bulk, and in proportion to its value, paid a relative custom to the great officers of trade, in support of government. "That is very good," said he, "for the great king; but I cannot do so, because the Ashantee fashion is different. None but kings and great men trade here, the same as myself. Sometimes I lend them gold, if they are good people; and then I cannot say, give me the gold back. If they come from another country to trade in Coomassy, they make friends, and give me a present; then, to be sure, I cannot tell them to give me gold, when they buy and sell the goods. Besides, some traders are kings' sons and brothers, and great captains: I must not say to them, give me gold, but I must give them gold and provisions, and send them home happy and rich, that it may be known in other countries that I am a great king, and know what is right. Thus I please my Gods, and they make me strong."

I adopted various arguments to convince the king that the establishment of a well-regulated intercourse with Salgha, Daboya, Houraboh, Yandi, &c. could not fail to increase the wealth of his subjects, even though he might not think proper to levy commercial dues, and by consequence he must be a gainer in the sequel. That was true, he admitted, but Ashantee was a nation of warriors, and the people did not understand these things like the inhabitants who lived nigher the great water (Niger.) If I would take the task upon myself, and regulate the trade of his country, he said, according to what I thought right, he should be happy and contented, and would make all the merchants obey me, and give presents, the same as to himself. "I will hear," added the monarch, "every thing you have to say, and my captains shall be told to obey you."

The king then introduced the officers he had selected as ambassadors to the British government ("the great king.") "This man," said he, taking the foremost by the arm, "is my *treasurer*; he takes care of my gold and good things. When he gets to the white country, he will talk all the palaver properly, and then my master will know that I have a good heart for him and his people, and that only bad men tell lies about me. I am preparing a present," he continued, "fit for him, and this captain will give it to him; but I shall give you a part to take care of, and when you go down to the water-side, you must see every thing put in the ship. I shall let him have five thousand ounces of gold besides, to buy me good things in silver-plate, cloth, silks, &c. and money for his subsistence."

The associates of this officer were six in number, comprising a suite whose powers were subordinate to the *treasurer*, although they owed little or no responsibility to him. This the king explained to me in their presence, as he introduced them according to their offices; namely, two royal bearers of the gold-hilted swords; two counsellors or advisers; one priest; one crier of the court.* They should all bear witness, said the cautious monarch, that "his treasurer spoke the truth, when he came back." I was also desired to procure a faithful linguist, who should likewise assist in buying the fine things he required for the use of his palace. It scarcely deserves to be recorded, that I acceded to all these requisitions. I do not scruple to admit, that I was gratified to the full extent of that feeling, at the brilliant harvest it promised to England,—the influence it gave her over a monarch so tractable, and a country so rich and barbarous, where, notwithstanding, a king of England reigned already in the hearts of hundreds—of thousands—perhaps millions

* With the exception of the crier, who was a youth of sixteen or seventeen, and whose profession was to keep order and silence during my negotiations at the palace, the rest were all men of rank and influence in the government; the priest was of the king's own family, and the others were in offices requiring their daily attendance about the person of the sovereign.

lions of untutored heathens or Moslems of all ranks, but chiefly of that which claims the first consideration.

"If you go to the white country," said the king, "I place these captains under your protection; they have served you, and you must serve them, for my sake; instruct them in the ceremonies to be observed before my great master, and tell them how to give him pleasure. Then you must tell him that I like the present he sent me very much. But I like it because the great God of his fathers made his heart to be a good friend to me; therefore if he should send me only a slave to say so, it is enough. Tell him my great oath. I will fight for him and his white men; and every thing he wants he shall have: for he has brought tears of pleasure into my eyes; but, tell him he must not believe the Fantees: black men's hearts are not the same as white men's; and he does not know these people like me, for there is no truth in them; they cheat him, they cheat me, and make fools of his white people."

As the day of departure drew nigh, the king invited me to a full audience, which was attended by many thousands, including all the principal officers and their retinues. The din of martial *discord* rained heavily upon my ears by way of salutation, from a countless number of bands, as I turned the angle of the court of audience. The king, who was encompassed by a mixed assemblage of courtiers, of high and low degree, motioned to Agampong to place my seat by his side, "that the city might know," he said, "that I was dear to him as a son." "I am going to lose you," continued the king, "it is the season of rain, which I hear is bad for white men; and I do not know if you must go to the white country: but I shall make a strong fetische and pray all the gods to keep you well and bring you back to me soon again; for I love you much. This is not talk of the tongue, it is my heart says so, and that must tell truth." His fine countenance, indeed, corroborated his assertion;—is it weakness to say I too was affected? I assured him I felt gratitude for the treatment I had experienced, and that my attachment

personally proceeded equally from the heart. "My captains," added the king, after a momentary suspense, "love you, because they know the king of the whites is my good friend, and they believe you have a good heart for all the people, Fantees and Ashantees, Moslems, and those who serve my Gods; so now you shall hear what they say."

The appeal created a simultaneous movement in advance of the throne, and where I was seated. Apoko stood up, and for himself and coadjutors said, "Have we not sworn to be true to the great king? we will serve him the same as *Sai*, for we have made fetische, and cannot break our words."

The king of Banna had already returned to his dominions, little satisfied with the fruits of his negotiation respecting the spoil of Gaman. The sovereign of Coomassy was engaged in selecting presents from his stores, for the tributary princes and allies. These articles, in conformity to court policy, were displayed to the people with great parade and ostentation. To the king of Banna he sent five kegs of rum, two pieces of brocade, some damask and fine cotton goods, ten kegs of powder, and, as I was informed, one hundred ounces of gold dust. A present of much less magnitude was sent to the Caboceer of Coransah. To the Caboceer of Ghofan (below the desert), he sent the same quantity of rum, some gold and damask. To the king of Salgha, (Entaâ,) he sent ten kegs of powder, four pieces of brocade, some fine cotton goods, guns, and eight kegs of rum. The Moslems of Dagomba and Ghunja, headed by the Bashaw, Abou Becr, Cantoma, and Shoumo, came in a body to return thanks, in the name of their sovereign, the King of Yandi, (the capital of Dagomba) for a present he had already despatched to that monarch. They made an appropriate speech, in the dialect of Dagomba, thanking the king for his liberality, in language which seemed courtly and grateful. These Moslems, in common with other favourites, participated in the royal bounty. Besides merchandize, the king distributed, it was said, upwards of 2,000 ounces of gold. A deputation of the Moslems of Bouromy and the Volta, headed by their

Caboceer (an Arab by extraction), arrived at court, exactly as the king was dismissing the Bashaw. Stop, said the king to this officer, you must not leave until you make good friends between the white man and the Caboceer: he does not know those *Crammos*.* "I have sent," said he, addressing me, "to the king of Dagomba, for fifty beautiful girls, and fifty boys; these I shall dress up in rich clothes and gold for the great king to serve him. Some of them are now here, and more will soon come. The other presents are all ready, and the ambassadors will go as soon as they have made good provision for their wives." I told the king I regretted he had not communicated to me, at an earlier day, his intention regarding the boys and girls, for that quality of present, I feared, would not be agreeable to my master, neither could I promise to engage for their transportation to England. "Do not fear," said the king, taking up the after clause only; "for I will send more provisions than the ship can carry, and plenty of gold to pay for their subsistence: you shall have nothing to pay." I durst not undertake such a charge, was my reply, yet I was satisfied of the purity of his intentions. The king was dejected—he paused, and several of the courtiers renewed the pleading. It was impossible, I said; but whatever *inanimate* objects the king might have to send, I would take every care of. "If that is not a proper present," said the king, "how can I please my master? and that I must do."

The slave trade became a topic of conversation soon after, for the king abruptly cut the clue of the former conversation. "I think," said he, "that the great king will do me much good, if he likes to make a proper trade for slaves as before. You must not forget that palaver. But I do not say he must do so, for he knows best what is good for him and me too: and if he says it will not do, that is enough."

The ambassador and his suite again came forward, richly habited, and adorned with rock gold. They had been engaged, they said, in making a strong Fetische, to give them a good face before the great

* Moslems.

king. Their bodies were painted with white clay, fancifully arranged in flowers, stars, and streaks.

"Now," said the king, turning half round to these men, "you are to tell my master this. He is my good friend, and I shall serve him faithfully. My people love him, because he is good to black men; and he is the great king here, as in the white land. Tell him I send my ambassador, that he may hear what is true from my own mouth, and not believe what the Fantees say, for they lie, and cheat his people. I am pleased with the captain he sent me, with his book,* and his present. My ancestors loved white people when they only knew the name, because they knew they were strong, and prayed to the great God. But I loved them from the day I fought at Annamaboe, and met Governor Torrane. Tell my master that was a proper governor, and so was Governor White. I never had any palavers with them, for they knew I was the king; they did me good, and I did them good. I never had a palaver with any governor before *Smitty*, except the palaver of Fantee, before Torrane knew me. I cannot fight white men: I cannot take their gold and their goods, as the Fantees did. If I make war upon the blacks, when they are stubborn, tell the king not to mind that; for all this country is mine, and I shall do so to make the people know me and him, and to make them serve us both. He has only to tell me what will please him, and whatever he wants I shall send. If he likes peace, that is good for the people, because then they can trade; and if he says, make war upon this country or that, I shall rise in the night to serve him. Tell him the Cape Coast people made me very angry; and all my captains wanted war, because they said the governor would bring white men to help the Fantees. But never mind that now, we are good friends again, and I hold a true book. I shall therefore make plenty of trade, and do every thing to give pleasure to his people. His captain shall look to all that; and whatever he says is proper, that I shall do. Tell him I am a great king here, and this is not talk like the Fantee caboceers; for I can do him great good, and send him gold and ivory

* Commission.

as much as he likes. He is my master, and I have sworn the great oath that I will be faithful to him like a king and a true friend, and I shall take care of his captain, and of all the white men; and when he comes back to Coomassy, I can lie down and go to sleep. Then," added the king, as he directed the conversation more particularly to the treasurer, holding him at the time by the skirt of his vestment, "you are to give to the great king the present I am going to shew you, and tell him Sai sends you this, because your country is a long way off, and he cannot come and see you himself; but for all that, he knows you, and he loves you the same as a brother."

The discourse was interrupted by the entrance of a troop of eunuchs, bearing upon their heads various articles of the present, which were passed in review before the gazing multitude. These were a number of ornaments, in molten gold, such as small plates, circlets, twists, &c.; besides some large specimens of rock gold; two fine camel's hair carpets, such as those of Mecca, Smyrna, Aleppo, &c. said to have been brought from Cassina; four more, of Yandy* fabric, coarse; nine large pieces of silk, curiously but preposterously fretted with thick gold wire and fetische ornaments; a sort of quilted cotton robe, partly covered with cabalistical scraps and sentences of Arabic: it was in fact a war garment, gifted, as the king said, with the virtue of resisting the power of a musquet bullet, or the thrust of a steel weapon; a long gold pipe,† neatly and tastefully decorated

* A carpet of this description was given to me by the king for a couch rug, intended, as he expressed it, to hinder me from getting sick on the road in the rains: I have it still in my possession. The texture is a coarse tropical wool, or rather hair, interwoven in stripes, with alternate blue, red, and white cotton, flowered and figured characteristically.

† The king desired me to report that, having himself smoked the pipe, the great white king might do the same; and then it should be considered a symbol of peace and friendship between them. It was a proper custom, he said, and grateful to his gods, who, when two people made friends that way, watched over the lives and prosperity of both.

The Ashantees are by no means singular in this practice, the same being observed by many semi-barbarous nations; but it may be sufficient to instance the Indians of North America.

with gold wire, the bowl being cast in the solid, and rudely sculptured; a massive breast plate cast pure, of the same metal, divided upon the outer surface into compartments, and coarsely moulded into a sort of filligrane work; a gold elephant's tail, composed of a thick bunch of wire:—a sort of fan or fly flap, used by the king, or rather to him alone; besides a variety of the finest cotton cloths, striped and ornamented with silk in the fashions of the country.

When these *treasures* had been sufficiently paraded before the assembled throng, the king ordered me to take charge of the pipe, the breast plate and the other trinkets; his people, he said, would carefully pack up the rest. The small trinkets, however, he once more gave back to the charge of his ambassador, telling him to pack them also in the same box with the silks, and leave with me the pipe and breast plate only.

At a given signal, a man brought forward a beautiful pair of young leopards, secured in a bamboo cage. "You are to take care of these yourself," said the king to me; "they are for my master, and if he likes he can have plenty of all sorts of beasts."

"What you see," said the king, "is not half what I intended to send. By and by the kings of Banna, and Salgha, and Yandy, and Gaman, and all the great caboceers will send in their presents, but then you will be gone." His majesty again entreated me to take charge, if not of the whole, of a part, at least, of the girls and boys, of whom, he represented, he then had forty in readiness, of the most beautiful he could select. "It could not be so," I replied, "and it was not essential, for he had already shewn a kingly liberality, worthy the estimation in which the great officers of my master held him." "Then pick out as many as you like only," said the monarch, "it is always the fashion to send some young and handsome people, because then my master will look at them and *love me*." Finding my reluctance was not to be overcome, he dropped the subject.

"For yourself," said the king, "I make you this present, handing me at the same time a massive chain, formed of curiously plaited gold wire in twelve circular links, bound together at the extremities by a twisted fastening of the same metal, having a large clasp shaped into a tortoise.* "This is what I wear round my body," said the king. "Here, too, are some cotton cloths to keep you warm on the road." † To sum up the royal bounty, "he *dashed*" me, as the *elegant* phraseology of the Cape expresses it, a boy and girl, of Gaman, two boys of Salgha, and a man, who, he said, would be serviceable in the care and treatment of the leopards. "The children," he added, "would learn the language of the whites, and then make good servants."

Various desultory conversations followed, in which the king and his ministers alternately broke silence. England and her king were the favourite themes of discussion. I related, in abstract, a narrative of the most prominent among the political events which have agitated the continent of Europe during the last twelve years, and the glorious triumph of the British arms, under the sway of the hero of the Spanish Peninsula and the Netherlands. The subject excited an universal interest; many smiled, and some laughed outright, with pleasure; but no one was more strongly affected than the king himself. He comprehended every thing, he said, but the manner in which white men managed great

* This chain, the finest specimen of gold work that ever fell under my observation in Africa, weighed about a pound in pure metal. Of all the presents enumerated above, the pipe and the breast plate, which were in my charge, together with the leopards, alone reached England. The rest were necessarily left behind on the coast, together with the ambassadors, as Sir George Collier declined granting them a passage in the Tartar, at the instance, it was reported, of the governor. The whole I delivered to Lord Bathurst some time after my arrival in England, for his majesty.

† The rain was at this time well set in at Coomassy; it followed our steps considerably to the southward of the Praa River. The forest resembled a shower bath, and when set in motion by an increased action of wind, it fell from the foliage in heavy discharges.

ships, travelled every where in them on the wide sea, and fought great battles on the water. He believed, he said, that the art of navigation was connected with the fetische of the great God, which, from the creation of the world conferred supremacy upon the whites,* and the people of the East.

My fort, said the king, changing the conversation, is not yet completed, but you must make me the white fetische, the same that the great king makes for his house. What was proper to be done, he enquired. I replied, to slay cattle, and (wishing to give in to the religious feelings of the Moslems, who were present) sprinkle the blood of the sacrifice, together with flour and salt, upon the threshold of the door. The Bashaw rose to embrace, and would have kissed me. That is not all, I added, the king must solemnize the custom by giving food to the people, and cultivating the friendship of those holy men, (pointing to the Moslems) who believe in the same God as myself. "I am ignorant," replied the king, spreading out both his hands to heaven, in the form of supplication. The chief of the Moslems, together with Cantoma and Abou Becr, imitated the adoration of the king, and chaunted aloud the *Fatha*.

"I must give a name to the fort," said the king, "what shall it be?" I reminded him of the name of George (as familiar to his hearing on a former day.) "Yes," he replied, turning round to Apoko, "it shall be *Shorshi*, and you must write me a book for it."

When I returned home, I complied with the king's wishes, by writing certain religious sentences in Arabic, that they might be perused by the Moslems, if the king desired it. It turned out accordingly, and I was again summoned to the palace, where *the believers* had already assembled. The king was gratified, he said, at the

* The Ashantees, in common with he maritime natives of the Gold Coast, believe that the *Father* or Ruler of the Gods and the universe, originally created man of two colours; namely, black and white. The tradition may be found in Bosman nearly as it is current at this day.

translation he had heard, for that was strong sense; but I had not written down the name of the fort, that the Moslems might know it when they looked in the book. I took the reed that was offered me and wrote جورج which they pronounced with tolerable accuracy; the king expressed his gratitude by a donation of provisions, wine, &c. But his feelings were most sensibly affected by an order which I gave clandestinely to mount the British flag upon the top of the building. It was an elegant silk flag, which I had previously designed to give his majesty as a private token of friendship. "White man," said he, "the great God has given you sense for my good. Do what you will, you are the same as my son:—go to Cape Coast, satisfy my nephew, and what you say is right let me have. But come back again, if you can, and send one of your friends to the great king to take care of my ambassadors. I will make you richer than all the other white men for I do not tell a lie, when I say I love you." He took me by the hand, in the most friendly manner; calling again to the ambassador (treasurer,) and desiring him to report faithfully what his sentiments were. "I am now going to council," said the king, "for the last time, but wait for me, I shall not be long." Upon this he retired, followed by Apoko, Kankam, Adusai, the Treasurer, and a few others.

As I retired, the king followed me to the gate. "With to-morrow's sun," said he, at parting, "I shall lose you; but if you love me I shall soon see you again, then I shall make a very great custom, and if it will give you pleasure to look at all these countries, I can send you safe all the way to the great water, to Haoussa, Marrowa, every where; for next time, you must go and see all my good friends, the kings of this country" (Africa). At parting I promised a full compliance with his wishes; which, (in order to disguise the pleasure I felt) I affirmed tallied with the customs of Europe; for hitherto I had cautiously avoided trespassing upon the scruples or jealousy of those whose counsels swayed the royal mind.

"Stop," said the king, as I held him with a parting grasp of the

hand, "you are going, and I must do you good; open your hand." I did so, and to my astonishment he spat in it, while I made an involuntary start to rescue it from his hold. My aversion to the royal bounty excited the most lively astonishment in all present, except Mr. Collins and Mr. Salmon; the rest could not comprehend how I should feel disgust.* "It is good! it is good!" they all exclaimed, "do not do so to the king: he is your friend, and does you a great honor." But I did not wish to engross to myself exclusively so much of this kingly liberality; and accordingly I introduced Messrs. Collins and Salmon to their share. The king was equally condescending to each of them, and his countenance reflected nothing but good nature.

When I returned to my quarters, I found the Bashaw, Abou Becr, and Kantoma. They came to felicitate me, they said, upon the great interest I held with the king: it gave them pleasure, because they knew I was a friend to the Moslems, more than any other people, and now I might benefit them, and all the traders. I promised I should never forget the friendship they had conferred upon me, publicly and privately. The esteem I had for them, I added, would last my life, nor should I forget to report their characters in their true colouring. You are, I concluded, worthy the king's confidence, and my friendship for you is from the heart. "Allah, and his holy apostle protect you, my son!" exclaimed the Bashaw, embracing me fervently; the others did the same, and they all joined in the most cordial wishes for my welfare. "May you live secure from sickness and misfortune; may

* To the Oriental reader I need only say, he will find it recorded of Mohammed, that his disciples and adherents were wont to wipe up his saliva with their hands, or rub it into their bodies from veneration. Refer to the interview between Mohammed and the ambassadors of Khosrout Parvits, sovereign of Persia; and what they reported of the dignity of the Arabian Prophet on their return to Persia. At Ashantee, the sovereign commonly spurts his saliva over the courtiers and kings, even of the first rank; or if it should fall by accident on the ground, they carefully wipe it up, and rub it on their skins. The practice is common in various parts of Africa, and even in some Moslem countries.

you return to us in health and safety," vibrated from every tongue: "we love you, and we love the great sultan who sent you, for he is a good friend to the blacks of all nations;* we know this from our brethren who go to the Koara (Niger) and Egypt." Here we were interrupted by the entrance of Apoko, Agampong, and Adusai. They came to swear me upon the Koran, they said, that I had no malice in my heart; that all I had done at Coomassy was done without any sinister design to bring white men to the coast, and arm the Fantees against their sovereign's government. The king, they added, knew better, nobody thought so except a few bad men; but it would please his people to hear me swear it. I did not hesitate to comply with the king's wishes, I objected only to the form he required. It was in fact a trial for which I was not prepared. Reasons, which I may be excused for not giving, urged me to do so, painful as it was to me, in the presence of Moslems, to whom I was much indebted, and for whom I had a sincere regard. The Bashaw placed the Koran upon the table: "By laying your right hand upon it," said he, "you will give pleasure to your friend the king: he is ashamed to ask you himself, but he wants you to oblige him, for all that." I sent a cane to the palace, to request the king would dispense with that form of oath, and accept in its lieu, of a custom familiar to Europe. It was agreed to, and I swore to the covenant of good faith upon the Bible: Messrs. Salmon, Collins, and Graves, followed my example; but a bitterness of feeling overpowered me, as I noticed the desponding countenances of the Bashaw and his friends: the former retired pensively to a corner of the apartment, hugged the Koran to his breast with both arms, and preserved a melancholy silence, in which he was imitated by the others, whose features exhibited an index of mortification. I had some difficulty,

* Our correspondence, at intervals, was carried on by note; but verbal or written, I never found that the Moslems entertained other than the most enlightened sentiments of the views of the British government.

after the Ashantees had retired, to banish their perturbation. For some minutes, I soothed in vain; at length, however, I was consoled by hearing Abou Becr exclaim, 'God willed it so, it was so decreed." As the temporary reserve wore off, they protested they lamented I had not complied with the ceremony, for many reasons. "The Koran *I knew* was a good book, for it was written upon the everlasting table, under the throne of God;—The king, and all his idolatrous subjects believed in it too. It would have satisfied every scruple of the court, of my integrity, sincerity, &c.; and it would have conferred a great honour upon them and all the Moslems, and permanently have united their interests exclusively to those of white men, which was what they wished above all things."

These friendly people, and some others of their associates, delivered me a collection of manuscripts, containing geographical information of the central parts of the continent.

In the evening, the king sent me a horse and a cow.* Each of the principal Moslems called again with a farewell present. That of the Bashaw was a cotton cloth, made purposely by his wife: others brought sheep, kids, fowls, honey, &c. The rain fell heavily, and the Moslems staid till a late hour, explaining themselves upon the subject of former geographical conversations which could not, with propriety, be inserted here.

The following day I mounted my palanquin, to bid farewell to Coomassy. Drums, horns, flutes, castanets, &c. resounded from all quarters of the city; assembled thousands occupied the space between the quarters and the palace, and numerous bodies of troops were stationed in groups at various points. The captains of all ranks were drawn up adjoining the palace, to greet me as I passed, with a parting shake of the hand; and here I was suddenly enveloped in the smoke

* Different from the cattle of tropical Africa in general, those of Ashantee are of the largest breed; but so fierce that it is dangerous to approach them. The cow was lashed by the feet to a strong bamboo pole, which prevented it from rising up; but in defiance of obstacles it broke out into the forest.

from a thousand blunderbusses, fired, I might almost say, against my face, amidst flourishing, capering, and a variety of grotesque antics. Agampong, who commanded a detachment of men sent by the king to escort me to the forest, came running up to shew one of the pieces which had burst, and lacerated the hand of a soldier slightly. "The king is very fond of these guns," said he, "and he has not got too many." I promised I would endeavour to procure him one for that which had been spoiled. The Moslems had taken a stand at the extreme end of the palace wall. "I am an old man," said the Bashaw, as he gravely took hold of my hand; "Allah knows, if you go to the land of white men, whether or not I shall see you again: but if you love me, and if you love the king, you cannot forget us. I pray God and his Apostle to restore you to us." Abou Becr, Kantoma, L'Hadge Said, and Shouma, and many more with whom I was on terms of intimacy, prayed aloud for my prosperity. The converts and pupils shouted at a distance, perhaps all they knew of Arabic,—"God bless you, white man."

A messenger sent by the king overtook me during the stoppage; —"Sai," said the man, "wishes you a good journey. His heart is full, and he cannot see you; but he is making a strong fetische for his Gods, to send you back safe." The Moslems kept pace with my palanquin for some distance; and at parting, which they did with a renewal of their protestations of attachment, they continued to follow me with their eyes until the forest buried me from their sight.

We were deluged with torrents of rain * for five ensuing days; the forest was a continued sheet of water in many districts, through which we waded with the greatest difficulty and bodily exertion; for our feet sunk at every pace into an adhesive soil, while the dripping from the boughs, and the perspiration together, drenched our bodies so thoroughly, that the water flowed rather than oozed from the lower

* The rains set in at Coomassy about one month sooner than upon the coast, notwithstanding the difference of latitude is so trifling.

extremities of our persons and apparel. The march was indeed most harassing, and many of the people fell sick; nor did either Messrs. Salmon and Collins, or myself, escape indisposition and lameness.

At Amoafo we were greeted by the Caboceer Coffee Ado Koumi with a most hospitable welcome; and in general, our reception as we advanced southward was of the most friendly complexion, associated too with every ostentatious shew of respect.

At Ansah, my corporal by accident encountered his sister in the street, who had been dragged into slavery, together with many other women, during the wars of Ashantee upon the sea-coast. The man, overpowered with joy, seized his sister by the arm, and she with great willingness followed him to my quarters. The people assembled in crowds, and those from whose protection she had been forced away, vociferously demanded the liberation of the slave, alledging they had paid gold for her to the amount of twenty-five ackeys, (about £6.) and she was besides indebted to the towns-people half as much more. To satisfy all parties, I suffered the woman to be carried before the Caboceer Coinin Akim, by her brother and former protectors, and desired that chief would restore the woman to her relation, upon terms of equity suitable to the circumstances of the disputants. The palaver, as all African palavers do, took up many hours discussing; but at last I received a message, stating that the Caboceer had placed the woman under my protection, until the brother, who had liberty to convey her back to the coast, should pay eleven ackeys. This was agreed to, and I had the satisfaction to witness her safe arrival among her friends.

The rivers Dah, Prakomy, Praa, and Okee, had swollen to a great degree, and their torrents were rapid—seldom less than five knots.

Finally, on the 5th of April, I returned to the coast, in a state of health by no means equal to what I enjoyed either at Coomassy or during the journey through Assin and Fantee.

As yet, the rains had not commenced in that part of the forest of Fantee which is to the southward of Mansue; but during a journey of

one hundred and fifty-eight British miles from the capital, there had comparatively been no intermission between the showers. The swamps, such as have been noticed on the journey up, were swollen into little lakes, through which we waded with difficulty, and at uncertain depths; and the southern rivers and rivulets, more or less, were converted to foaming torrents.

The prospect of the ocean, as we entered an avenue leading to the town of Mouree, at 5 P.M. was inexpressibly delightful, as it presented a view of Cape Coast.

The sequel may be related in few words:—The servants of the Committee not only refused to accede to the terms of the treaty, which they chose to represent as a deed whereby the *sovereignty of Fantee* had been *transferred* to the king of Ashantee; but they also took upon themselves to forbid the payment of any proportion of the accustomed tribute to the king, or even of the 100 ounces* they had already tendered as a peace-offering in behalf of the natives of the town. Knowing, however, that their resistance alone would avail but little, they had in the interval of my absence obtained a *public* promise from the late Sir George Collier, to give support to their opposition. Thus encouraged, the governor and council made no secret of their intentions to bid defiance to the king, even before Sir George, who was then on a cruize, had returned to the Cape. The news which was thus publicly proclaimed became the general topic of conversation, and the Fantees, who now earnestly built their hopes on the assistance promised them from the squadron under the orders of the Commodore, again breathed defiance in their houses against the king, although still they were cautious in their intercourse with the Ashantees, to whom they artfully represented that they were willing to obey the king; but from the situation of their town, under the guns of a British fort, they were

* It should have been noticed earlier, that when I quitted Cape Coast, the governor and council authorised me by letter to pay to the king, on behalf of the natives 150oz. It was their subsequent advice, during the negotiations at Coomassy, as it has been stated, which reduced the offer to 100oz.

necessitated to that course of politics which the governor might prescribe, who, whenever he pleased, could destroy their habitations, and drive them into the bush.

On the seventh Mr. Smith, attended by Aggry, Binie, De Graaf, and some other town chiefs went to inspect an adjacent hill, which overlooks the back of the town, and on their return it was given out that a martello tower should be built there, without delay, to cover the approach of an enemy. This was enough, and the natives, no longer doubting the sincerity of the Company's servants, and reposing an equal confidence in the promise of "a white army being sent, if necessary, for their protection," disdained any longer to conceal what were termed their patriotic effusions; but which the Ashantees described as their insolence.

About eight o'clock the same evening, the horns and drums of the Ashantees announced a movement among these people. As I opened the door of my apartment to enquire into the cause of it, two captains headed by Akassy, the Caboceer of Kikewhary, rushed hastily forward; and when the attendants, who I perceived were armed, had closed the entrance, they told me that Adoom (the ambassador) desired an interview, as he had something particular to communicate. When it was explained to him that I waited his coming, he mustered and marshalled the whole of his force, amounting, at this time, to about five hundred men, whom he stationed in the adjoining avenues (for I was now residing in town).

During our conference, which related to the settlement of the native palaver, the prince told me, that although he was anxious to adjust that affair agreeably to the instructions he had received from the king, yet he had now called with another intent. He had learned, he said, from good authority, not only what had been transacting in town to the prejudice of the king, but also, that a plot was then in agitation between Binie, Aggry, and some other chiefs of inferior note, to assassinate both him and me, and then destroy his little

army.* "I do not understand the *palavers* of white men," added the prince; "but I am not afraid of what the town can do; it is you I am afraid for: and as your king placed you under the protection of my king, I have received strict orders to look to your safety, as Sai himself did while you were at Coomassy." I "replied, It was impossible such atrocity could be contemplated:" and he retorted, "Do you think so? Then you do not know the Fantees; but you will see by and by." "I know them well," I said, "and they dare not attempt it; however," I continued, "I shall report what you say to the Castle, for the honour of white men is implicated in the charge." "And I," said the ambassador, "who am certain of the truth of what I tell you, shall take care of my people, and station them at the quarters. In the meantime, I leave ten men for your protection 'till I see you again in the morning; farewell:" so saying he departed.

I wrote to the governor and council on the subject, and they, it seemed, had heard nothing to corroborate the fears of Adoom, although subsequently I had good reasons to know that such conversations had taken place, at the houses both of Aggry and Binie; whether the parties accessory to the plot were deserving the name of patriots or conspirators. I therefore, seriously preserved a defensive posture, and never retired to rest without the precaution of loaded pistols under my pillow. The house itself was guarded by the Ashantees, who, faithful to their trust, never for a moment deserted their charge.

The prince called upon me on the eighth, at an early hour, and expressed some anxiety to know what was intended to be done in relation to the native palaver. The king, he said, would accept of any sum we might agree upon, provided he was not exasperated by new reports of

* Upon the faith of the treaty, Adoom had already dismissed all his auxiliaries and the greater part of his own people.

the insolence of his vassals, who would surely repent it if they carried matters too far.

My anxiety, I replied, was as great as his, for I stood in some degree pledged to the king to settle it; but, as nothing could be done without the concurrence of the whites, I should visit the castle.

My inability to walk that distance* was provided against by the Ashantees; who having placed me in the ambassador's palanquin, (a sort of basket lined and stuffed,) they trotted off with me upon their heads, as far as the outer gate, where the officer of the guard met my retinue, to whom he communicated that it was the governor's orders they should not enter the fort. I demanded permission only for the prince who, I said, besides his quality of ambassador, was privileged to meet the governor and council with me, as a party to whom authority had been delegated, by the king, to assist in the settlement of the Cape Coast claim; and I would be bound, if necessary, for all consequences. In reply, his orders he said were peremptory, and he could not suffer a man to enter, whatever his rank might be.† I enquired if the prohibition extended to me, and being assured of the negative, I desired the Ashantees to wait my coming while I went forward.

The hall was empty, the *governor and council*, (i. e. Mr. Smith and Mr. Swanzy,) were closeted in the sleeping room of the former, and refused to come forward. The secretary, Mr. Williams brought me that message; and I, in reply, told him the object of my business was

* The castle was distant from my residence only a pistol shot; but the lameness I had contracted on the journey produced inflammation after my return.

† It was subsequently insinuated that the garrison was alarmed at *some act of treachery*, and this double insult was rumoured as a *palliative* for the indignity offered to the king as well as the prince.

It cannot, indeed, have escaped the reader's memory, that when Adoom first came down, in the heat of the quarrel, he was attended by above one thousand men, and yet the discussions took place in the hall of the castle.

not to exchange compliments, but to adjust the Cape Coast palaver with Mr. Smith and the prince, upon terms of equity, agreeably to the king's wishes; as I had already stated to them. In reply to this, after a lapse of some minutes, I was given to understand, that they should not abide by the treaty, neither would they allow the natives to pay one farthing. And with this answer I retreated from the castle, never more to set foot within its walls; a resolution which I inflexibly adhered to.

Thus, between the Ashantees and Fantees, it may be conjectured my life was in no very secure asylum. However that may be, I had no distrust of the former, and my confidence was repaid with a devotion and sincerity more than Christian like in these parts, and every way honourable to the commission I bore.

Policy suggested that I should yet conceal from Adoom the sentiments of the company's servants. Accordingly I stated that nothing could be done until the commodore returned to the coast: although I knew, in fact, his predisposition to support the interests of my opponents.

On the 9th, I served a protest upon the authorities of the castle, containing in substance the following sentiments:—"As soon as Sir George Collier arrives, I shall lay a statement of the council's conduct before him, and as I find it impossible to proceed in the discharge of my public duties as his majesty's consul and agent in this country, I shall request a passage to England in the Tartar, &c.

"As regards my negotiations with the king of Ashantee, I shall not say more than that I now throw the whole responsibility upon the council, as to any measures that have been or that may hereafter be adopted by them since my return to Cape Coast. At the same time, I have to remind the council, that, in consequence of their former impolitic conduct, the armed force of Ashantees and Assins, under the command of Prince Adoom, were to have been joined by a large body of people from El Mina in case of need, who had orders to destroy the town and population, which hitherto I have been the

means of preventing. It now remains for the council to do so in future."

In a supplementary part I stated, "I lament to tell you, that the consequences which will probably result from the perverse conduct of the council, will, I fear, be most serious to the merchants and people of this town, &c."*

The ambassadors destined for England, were all this time living in town, busied with preparations for the voyage they anticipated. Although I might fail in my personal exertions to bring men to rational reflection, who were pre-determined, from interests of their own, to thwart every plan which did not originate with themselves, I derived infinite consolation in the reflection that these ambassadors, on their arrival in London, would be capable of relating their own tale. Accordingly I rendered them every assistance in packing up their gold and presents. I indulged, moreover, in the hope that, however disposed Sir George might be to act, I could prevail in some way to leave matters in statu quo, until a fair and impartial statement of facts could be submitted to ministers, by whose instructions I might be guided on my return to the Coast, if I should be compelled to the step of seeking them in London.

In this state of suspense, the 9th, 10th, and 11th elapsed. At last the Tartar hove in sight. On her coming to anchor, I wrote to Sir George, covering copies of the treaties, &c. On the 11th, my letter was answered in terms of ambiguity, and I then demanded a passage for myself, and the ambassadors and presents. As regarded myself, Sir George acquiesced, but stated, that in the West Indies, he should take up Lord Combermere and suite. As related to the ambassadors and presents in their charge, he said he was unable to give them conveyance, and that he was expressly interdicted from carrying

* In the same letter, I protest, moreover, that from the little respect they thought proper to pay to my public character, I should never hold any future intercourse with them.

away any of the *natives* by a standing order of the Lords of the Admiralty. Whatever I could urge in support of this petition had no better effect. The following extracts from my correspondence with Sir George will be sufficient to shew the extreme anxiety I felt to seal the confidence I had so happily awakened in the king, and worm out the only little canker that existed, by settling the despicable native palaver.

"The king of Ashantee is so perfectly disposed to co-operate in all things for the promotion of the mercantile interests of Great Britain, that if the present opportunity is suffered to escape us, it may be the means of crushing, at a single blow, all future advancement towards commerce, or the cultivation and civilization of this part of Africa.

"Let it be remembered, that in proceeding to Coomassy, the whole party were endangered, if not in their lives, at least in their liberties, and it is notorious that the cause itself was almost universally pronounced hopeless and desperate. Indeed, I have good reasons for thinking that the general opinion would have proved correct, had I not politically stood forward as mediator between the authorities of the castle and the king."

In reflecting upon the impolicy and injustice of the governor and council, I predicted the consequences which would probably ensue as disastrous to the mercantile interests and the natives. "The king's power," I wrote, "has been moreover considerably augmented since the conquest of Gaman, and when it is considered how long the commerce has been interrupted, I should be almost warranted to say annihilated; that the town of Cape Coast itself has been in the power of the Ashantees and Assins upwards of three months (although they have hitherto conducted themselves with moderation); that these men were empowered to proceed to hostility if necessary, and were to have been supported by a body of Wassaw and El Mina people; that the inhabitants are totally unable to protect themselves, and that the town is not defended by a redoubt tower or other outwork, that could effectually check the progress of an enemy, such as the Ashantees are known to

be,* I am convinced, that you and every reasonable man must do me that justice which party spirit refuses in this country."

My communications elicited nothing satisfactory. Sir George said, "he regretted to see so much misunderstanding; and he had been told, that the Cape Coast people would not recognize the sovereignty of the king of Ashantee, even if the governor and council were to withdraw their support." He could not, he said, *prejudge* the case. I enquired, "if upon his honour he believed any such thing." "I will give no opinion," he added, "one way or the other." "But," I continued, "you will at least support my protest against the adoption of any rash and hostile proceedings, until I am able to learn the sentiments of his Majesty's ministers in relation to the treaty and negotiations at Coomassy." "I cannot interfere," replied Sir George, "in these matters; my commission is afloat, and I have no authority to act on shore." "Then," I added, "I have nothing more to urge in that particular, but in regard to the ambassadors, whose mission you can know nothing of, as indeed I do not know the precise object myself, and whose presence in England, (without considering the offering of friendship they are the bearers of) I imagine will be gratifying to government, and instrumental to the hopeful plan of turning the king's disposition from war to commerce,—a commerce which may almost exclusively be engrossed by British merchants and British shipping; if, as you say, you cannot furnish a passage for them in the Tartar, will you suffer them to accompany me to Sierra Leone, from whence I will convey them to England myself?" "I must," replied Sir George, "for the reasons I stated to you in my letter, decline taking them on board the ship."

* Unhappily no other conveyance offered, and they were left behind. During my stay at Cape Coast, they would never stir from my elbow, for the king, they said, had placed them under my protection.

This conversation with Sir G. Collier was conducted upon the most courteous terms, for he was a man I greatly respected in private life.

Two messengers from the king came down to me during my stay on the coast, the one to enquire after my health, the other to desire me to take care of his ambassadors, particularly the treasurer, who was a faithful servant.

The last messenger I despatched to the king conveyed my sentiments to the following effect:—"Remember your oath—remember me, for I am sincere, and will go to England to let the great king know that your heart is inclined towards him and his people. If I live, I will return; but do not expect to hear from me till eight moons are passed. Then you may look for a settlement of this palaver, which is too great to talk at the water-side, and therefore must be laid before the king, whose pleasure I will inform you of by a letter to my correspondent at Cape Coast. Never mind what the Fantees say, and take no umbrage at what the whites may do, till my master's pleasure is known; for you may depend he will act

Sir George, perhaps to palliate his refusal, invited the ambassadors to see the Tartar. They went on board, and for their amusement, two or three of the quarter-deck guns were discharged. One of the shots taking effect upon a small sloop which was at anchor in the roads, stove in the side and sheathing together. The copper being separated from the shot, it formed a sort of skull-cap, which the Commodore jocosely clapped on the head of the chief, and told him to shew it to the king, that he might know what the whites would do to him if he came to the coast.

When the party landed, they came to me in the society of the prince, who desired to know what was the meaning of the commodore's sentiments, and why he had desired to have the indented copper sent to the king, as he could not do so without explaining the object to his Majesty. Did it indicate a desire for peace or war? I replied I believed it to be merely designed for the ambassador's entertainment; and that as neither of those constructions should be put upon it, it would be advisable not to send it to the king.

As there existed no longer any hopes of temporizing with the governor and council, even under the auspices of the commodore, I judged this a fit opportunity to tell the prince the precise situation of affairs. Having done so, I assured him, that as I was going to England to state these particulars to my superiors, he had better inform the king of it, and wait my return, or until despatches could be sent out, which I had great reason to hope would set every thing to rights. He required to know how long the voyage there and back again would take, and I told him to count at least eight moons till I returned, or six moons for a letter; but in the mean time, I desired him to remind the king of his oath, and to assure him in my name, that under any provocation, he must not think of going to war against an object so unworthy of his greatness.

with justice. Above all things, bear in mind the necessity of abstaining from any thing like hostility against the people of Cape Coast, as that would be construed into a declaration of war against the whites."

I now earnestly busied myself with making such hasty preparations for the voyage as the time would admit of,—packing up such of the presents as were in my charge, &c.

On the 12th I received a notification from the governor and council, stating that all the interests of whites and blacks were to be called together in the hall of the castle, to discuss the *merits* of the treaty, and to signify their acceptance of it or *not*, inviting me to be there also, to meet Sir George Collier and themselves, for that purpose. Of course I refused attending, renewed my protest, and threw all responsibility upon themselves.*

Sir George called upon me in the evening; I then enquired if he had been at the *tribunal.* He said "he went to the hall by invitation of the merchants of Cape Coast, but he had not thought proper to give any opinion one way or the other."

While we were in conversation, one of my attendants brought in the young leopards, and Sir George taking a fancy to them, asked me to exchange them with him for two he had on board, (given him by Mr. Smith.) I said they were for his Majesty, and being part of the present under my care, I designed taking them with me in the Tartar. Sir George protested he had not room for them, and they were consequently left behind, but shipped for London by another conveyance, subsequently.

On the 15th I embarked at a late hour in the evening; and in bidding farewell to the prince, the ambassadors, and the whole party of Ashantees on the beach, I desired my last words to be conveyed to the

* Could it be imagined for one moment that I would submit to such a course of proceeding? If not, what interpretation could be put upon a mock tribunal of merchants, to examine into the merits of a treaty between monarchs?

An Ashantee Soldier.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH

king, " that he would never forget his oath, and never proceed to hostilities against the town ; but wait until he heard from me."

Our voyage included Ascension and Sierra Leone; at the latter place I remained three weeks, and during that time I proposed hearing the sentiments both of Sir George Collier and Sir Charles M'Carthy, in regard to the merits of the treaty; but the former declining to *interfere*, Sir Charles said he could do nothing alone that would be useful in reconciling animosities.

At Sierra Leone, about the latter end of May, I took passage to England by an early conveyance, and landed at the Isle of Wight about the close of the month of August.

CHAPTER VI.

OCCURRENCES SUBSEQUENT TO THE AUTHOR'S RETURN.

CORRESPONDENCE OF MESSRS. GORDON, ROBERTSON, DAWSON, AND COLLINS—INACTIVITY OF THE ASHANTEES—STOPPAGE OF TRADE—CONDUCT OF MR. SMITH—GOVERNMENT TAKE POSSESSION OF THE FORTS—EFFECTIVE FORCE THERE—COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES—ATTACK OF MOUREE BY THE BRITISH—OBSERVATIONS—VINDICATION OF THE DUTCH FROM THE CHARGE OF EXCITING HOSTILITIES—APPOINTMENT OF SIR CHARLES M'CARTHY AS GOVERNOR OF THE BRITISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA—HIS IDEAS OF THE POWER OF ASHANTEE—STATE OF THE GOLD COAST ON HIS ARRIVAL—BLOCKADE BY THE ASHANTEES—THEIR MILITARY TACTICS—MURDER OF A SERJEANT—THE BRITISH FORCE TAKES THE FIELD—DEFEAT AND DEATH OF SIR CHARLES M'CARTHY—CORRESPONDENCE—OBSERVATIONS.

In order to put my readers in possession of the present state of English affairs on the coast of Guinea, I subjoin an account of such events, subsequent to my return, as have come to my knowledge.

In the months of November and December, 1820, during my residence in London, I received letters from my correspondents on the Gold Coast, dated at periods between one and two months subsequent to my quitting the African *stage*. These letters, which were written by the late Mr. Gordon, governor of Accra Fort, and member of the council, Mr. George Robertson,* a merchant and

* This gentleman, a man of the first talent and respectability in the country, happened unfortunately to be at Sierra Leone, when I returned from the interior. Independently of reasons which may not be interesting to the public, or grateful to the hearing of some, and which therefore, may be suppressed, I shall simply observe, that at Sierra Leone, I conferred upon him the appointment of acting consul during my absence, subject to the approval of his majesty's government. With this power, after the recovery of his property which had been sequestered by the intrigues of the company's servants, he sailed back to the Cape.

representative of that highly respectable firm of Henry Hunt and Co., Jeffery's Square, London, Mr. Dawson, late governor of Cape Coast Castle, and Mr. Collins. The inferences to be gleaned from all this correspondence were satisfactory, inasmuch as they conveyed the most unqualified assurances that the public tranquility remained undisturbed. More than this could not be expected, neither could it be hoped that the lowering calm, like Mr. Bowdich's treaty, "would last for ever." Prince Adoom sent his compliments to me; and it was moreover stated that no apprehensions of any unfavourable tendency were entertained; but on the contrary, the most hopeful feelings were indulged in, from the circumstance of my being on the spot where justice and good faith ruled the destiny, not of men alone, but of nations. The little Ashantee army, it was believed, would not, in the interval take the field against the natives of Cape Coast, supported as they were by the whites, however hostilely and insultingly they might conduct themselves towards the king. It was believed, moreover, that Adoom having communicated my parting messages to the monarch, the latter would confidingly wait the issue of the time I had prescribed for my return; and that in the interval, the Ashantee troops would be equally scrupulous in conducting themselves with order and moderation upon the coast.

It seemed, however, as if this state of inactivity, on the part of the court, had been construed by the British authorities there into a political ruse, calculated to gain all that was possible by negociation, without risking its honour and its interests in the sequel. It was, in fact, believed by them that Ashantee would not dare to take up arms, even against the natives, while the whites supported them in their resistance with unqualified vigour, such as they had already evinced in *cabinet* theory, and were inclined, as they represented, to carry into active effect in the field.

In short they argued as men whose concealed prejudices, interests, and resentments, had blinded their eyes to every prudential thought,

every maxim of temperate and judicious policy, as they might have connexion with the true honour of the crown, the interests of commerce, and British faith. The denial of this can only lead to a belief in the other alternative, viz., that the authorities who presided over our African establishments were wholly *ignorant* of the temper and resources of the monarchy, whose confidence they had already betrayed, and whose friendship they were insulting by puerile, and, it cannot be refuted, unnecessary and undeniable acts of provocation, purposely to thwart the measures which had been contemplated by government for *opening the communication with interior Africa,* by a cultivation of the friendship of the very monarch whom they by insults were urging to the necessity of taking up arms, if not in self defence, at least in defence of his maritime provinces—provinces which had been subdued by his arms—provinces wherein the conqueror's title, from the days of governor Torrane, had been recognized by treaties and by "notes," as they are called, which, by reversion, fell into the hands of the king, and upon which he constantly received his monthly, quarterly, or annual pay for the ground rent of the castles themselves, as the Fantees themselves originally used to do.

Peaceably as the Ashantees were inclined, it became apparent that the king reposed his faith upon that of the British government, as the fountain of supremacy; and the traders, oppositely circumstanced, and having none but mercantile interests to influence their movements, naturally placed no confidence whatever in the local authorities, either of Cape Coast Castle, or the town under its walls; consequently, although the Dutch markets were, as usual, constantly resorted to by Ashantee merchants and traders, scarce any of those people ever visited the Cape or its neighbourhood, and, as heretofore, the only vent for British merchandize, *guns, powder, and rum* included, was at El Mina, through the agency of our commercial rivals, who, in truth, reaped the harvest of a double profit, upon all the commodities they purchased of us.

In April and May, 1821, further accounts were received from the Gold Coast. I also received private letters from Mr. Dawson, Mr. Robertson, and Mr. Collins. Those of the two gentlemen last named dwelt forcibly and interestingly upon the state of public affairs there, as they interfered with mercantile interests, and the danger impending over councils which were termed rash and inconsiderate.

The Ashantees under Prince Adoom, it seemed, were still in the town. They had waited the issue of the eight months with admirable patience and forbearance, even without a murmur. Already, however, up to the date of these letters, had nearly ten months elapsed, and ultimately they manifested some uneasiness at not learning any thing favourable to the cause of their sovereign, who, on his part, it was believed, was still averse from the adoption of any hasty resolutions of a tendency to resent the rupture which the company's authorities had created by recourse to arms.

Mr. Smith, it seemed, the original instigator of all the mischief that had ensued, or that might ultimately ensue, did not repose quite so calmly under the political frowns of the Ashantee monarch, as the reader might suspect, from the ostensible character of the public reports. This gentleman, whatever exterior surface he might shew, could not avoid betraying his fears, in the secret course of politics he thought it convenient to adopt; for notwithstanding recent proceedings, and without regard to the tenor of his sentiments, as they were to be gleaned from the public dispatches and letters designed for the inspection of his Majesty's ministers, or others in authority and of interest in the state, he renewed, it is said, the negotiations on behalf of the Fantees, when he found ultimately that it was his interest to meet the impatience of the Court of Ashantee, offering, it is stated, the 100 ounces, or from that to 150 ounces of gold, as a settlement of the claim.

Whether this renewal of overtures, if the account be true, associated as they were, too, with professions of friendship, was calcu-

lated to amuse only and procrastinate the time, is what I cannot take upon myself to say, although I believe most cordially that Mr. Smith, in despite of that insensibility and contracted knowledge of men for which he is so justly characterized, was alarmed ultimately at the attitude of public affairs. I can entertain little doubt of this; else, setting other reasons connected with my correspondence aside, why should he have continued to send messengers to court from time to time, directly or otherwise; or have held any communication with the prince upon the subject of a claim which he had resisted at the hazard of our dearest affections and interests, the honour of the British flag, and the prosperity of its commerce.

To give the reader a clearer insight into the secret machinations of the Cape politicians, it must be told that ministers, at least, were sensible of the imbecility of those to whom the public trust had been so long confided,* to legislate on the Coast of Africa. Mr. Goulburn, perhaps to relieve the natural anxiety I felt, had already done me the honour to say, that Government were sensible of the many evils attending the administration of public affairs upon the Gold Coast, and it was consequently designed to take the forts under their own management. This intelligence was moreover confirmed to me by a gentleman high in office in the Admiralty, and by several others in public trust, both in Downing Street and at the Treasury. This event, in truth, had been long looked for, and I think I am justified in saying, ardently wished by every reflecting man, whose property or whose interests entitled them to a vote in regard to their protection. These changes were not unexpected, but had been long in contemplation. In reference to the secret spring of action among the leading servants of the Company, but more especially Mr. Smith himself, they were of inducement sufficient to warrant every exertion on his part to persevere *ostensibly* in resisting the demand made by the king, without suffering

* See Quarterly Review, "Bowdich's Mission to Ashantee."

his recent temporizing maxims to escape to the knowledge of supremacy, even in a whisper. And this he was mainly anxious about, because the public correspondence for some time past, from the Committee of African merchants, guaranteed to their servants, perhaps in a limited sense, retirements proportionate to their respective ranks, to be paid to them from the date that the forts might be transferred to the possession of his Majesty's government. Mr. Smith, therefore, in common with his adherents, looked interestedly to his rank in that service, and he was accordingly doubly anxious to support the character of consistency, although at every hazard (short perhaps of an actual appeal to arms against the Ashantees). It was moreover hoped that Government, with their customary liberality would look with a favourable eye upon what had been described to them by his friends, and those who supported his pretensions, as the *energetic* and dignified resistance of a man of *talent* and *discretion*; and in reviewing the transactions on the day when their intrinsic worth might be estimated in sterling money, that they might be influenced to apportion the award upon a scale adequate to such services, as they stood arranged in order with the fulsome, and, as it would seem, designed misrepresentations of his nephew, in the description he gave of the former mission. Hence the panegyrists who edited the public testimonials submitted to the Colonial office and other departments of government, gave implicit credit to his public spirit, zeal, *discretion*, &c.

The king of Ashantee, it appeared, down to the month of January, resisted every overture (however indirectly they may have been made through the agency of the prince) of a tendency short of recognizing his supremacy at Cape Coast in quality of sovereign over the natives, of whom he demanded satisfaction, equivalent to the offence they had given; it would appear also that this monarch, having lost the original confidence he possessed, was not to be amused with vain negociations, whose tendency he might have probed, through his ambassadors and emissaries upon the coast, where, for some months

past, they had been in constant habits of gleaning intelligence from the company's servants of inferior rank, relating to the change immediately contemplated, and which the Ashantees doubtless imagined would bring their sovereign's "palaver" to the cognizance of the fountain of truth, purity, and good faith. Upon these grounds, simply, we may account for a subsequent pause of the duration of many weeks.

About the latter end of the summer of 1821, fresh accounts arrived from the Gold Coast. My own letters from Mr. Robertson stated that the king was inflexible as regarded his claims, but that tranquillity generally prevailed, and every apprehension was removed from the minds of the British and the Fantees, from the circumstance of his Majesty's government having, it was thought, finally taken upon themselves the management of the forts. It was no longer doubted that the first object of ministers would be to send an efficient force to garrison the castles, for, will it be credited, that notwithstanding the assumed dignity of the governor, or governor and council,* the total amount of the garrisons, themselves included, was only *forty-five* white men, and these to give protection to no less than eight castles and factories; viz. Cape Coast Castle, Annamaboe, Tantum, Accra, Succondee, Commenda, Dixcove, and Apollonia, all situated within the territory of Ashantee.† These reports of proceedings in London in particular, animated the drooping spirits of the natives of Cape Coast, as it moreover revived the courage of the British, instigating both to throw aside the mask, and leave to chance alone, I presume, the issue. Mr. Smith, it was clear, would be content to resign his trust with what he termed honour, i. e. under the semblance of having supported the dignity of the British flag in trials of severity, and under

* Mr. Swanzy and Mr. Smith, the two leaders.

† An equal division of the white forces would leave five and five-eighths of a man to each establishment. The black troops, including artificers, amounted to about one hundred, twelve of whom might be spared for each of the five officers.

circumstances which might appear of critical terror to those he wished to imbibe the impression, and who would naturally weigh in the balance the total numbers of the disposable British force, without learning the nature of the intrigues.

The Fantees eagerly and anxiously looked out for the arrival of an English fleet and a *white* army to their succour, such as the thoughtful or the thoughtless had led them to build their hopes upon. Such was the substance of private letters, my own among the number. Public as well as private ones of a few days' subsequent date, contained matters of a greater political importance, for as the great crisis approached, so it appeared that the spirit of resistance was suddenly metamorphosed into one of enterprize, in which blacks and whites together participated in common with the hero of the Cape. But this, besides its relative importance, which may warrant the insertion, being written by one of the servants of the company (Mr. Colliver), who had charge of the expedition, I submit the report verbatim as it was penned.

"Cape Coast Castle, 21st April, 1821.

"By the time you receive this, it is probable the African company will have ceased to exist. We have received orders to hold ourselves in readiness to deliver up the forts and settlements here to government. It is understood they are to be put on the same footing as Sierra Leone. A list has been furnished to government by the company's committee of their officers, their age, length of service, the situations they fill, their emoluments, &c. We have been blockaded here since the 10th of February,* by the Ashantees (an African tribe), who have commenced hostilities against us. On the day before-mentioned our governor received intelligence that a black man belonging to Cape

* Thus (and by my own accounts also) it appears that the king waited patiently two months over and above the eight he had been advised of, for it was exactly ten months after my departure when the prince and the troops under his command deserted the town, and took up a station in the rear of Cape Coast. Still, however, they avoided every act of hostility.

Coast, where the people are under *our protection*, had been cruelly murdered by a chief of the *Fantees*, at a place about six miles from Cape Coast, called Mouree. I was immediately ordered to assemble all the soldiers I could in five minutes, and proceed to Mouree to seize the murderer. I quickly set off with four officers and eighty-five soldiers. A little before we entered the town of Mouree where the savages, *(the Fantees)* between two and three thousand in number, were assembled, we saw the mangled remains of their unfortunate victim. The town stands near the top of a hill, on the summit of which is an old Dutch fort. As soon as we entered the town a fire was opened upon us, but as my orders were to seize the murderer, if possible, without bloodshed, I did not for some time allow the men to return the fire. However, perceiving they were resolved to oppose us, I gave directions to my little party to give them a volley, and then to charge. The negroes retired as we advanced, and in less than an hour we gained the hill, from which our opponents fled in every direction. We demanded the keys of the fort from the principal man belonging to Mouree, who, not being engaged in the affair, had remained, and who immediately gave them up. In the fort, which has a drawbridge, we were perfectly secure from the attack of the negroes. The body we defeated were *Fantees*, who were *assembled to assist the Ashantees* in enforcing some *very-unjust* demands made by them on the people of Cape Coast. As soon as the Ashantees who reside near Cape Coast heard that the Governor had sent an armed force against their friends, their drum beat to arms, and they hastened after us. *Fortunately*, we had defeated our opponents before they arrived; however, they rallied the Fantees, and took a position about half-a-mile from the town with a determination to oppose our little party. The governor, apprised of our situation, assembled all the force he could muster, and speedily about five thousand of the Cape Coast people, headed by our officers and carrying the British flag, were seen approaching. The enemy

immediately retired, and we were released from our *disagreeable* situation, after having been, from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon, exposed to a burning sun without refreshment. The negroes had forty-seven killed, and upwards of one hundred wounded, in this affair. We had one soldier killed, and four wounded. Since the affair, we have not seen one of the Ashantees *or the Fantees* here (at Cape Coast): and now a total stoppage of trade has taken place. We have not learned how the king of Ashantee intends to act, nor is it *safe* to *venture* out of *our limits* except in large parties."

Thus it appears upon the clearest evidence, that we were the first who appealed to arms, and under circumstances which, according to my reasoning, were rash and unjustifiable in the extreme, either upon the face of the old treaty, which it would seem Mr. Smith had some time back insinuated a desire to recognise, or, as regarded the laws of nations; for in the first instance, the murderer, (a Fantee) should have been demanded either of the prince, the authorities of the town of Mouree, or the Dutch governor-general at El Mina, ere any appeal was made to force, and this never was done. Without looking to the great waste of human life, as the sequel proved, and as might naturally have been foreseen in a meeting between organized blacks and a mob of fishermen, such as the Mourees in particular are, above all the little Fantee tribes, was it reputable to make an inroad and an abrupt attack upon a town where the flag of his majesty of the Netherlands waved upon the battlements of a castle which might almost vie as a fortification with Cape Coast itself, and which, before the Dutch took Elmina from the Portuguese* was the head establishment of that

* El Mina Castle, the town under whose walls is called Addena by the natives, was taken by the Dutch in 1638, chiefly by the aid of cannon which they planted upon the top of the hill of St. Jago. When become possessed of this, the strongest and best situated fort of Guinea, they naturally shifted their head-quarters from Mouree to El Mina. The outwork or little fort of Condaadsburg they subsequently built upon the top of St. Jago hill, and thereby rendered it wholly impregnable on the land side, and, if

nation upon the Guinea coast? Was it just and honourable, admitting all the circumstances of the misunderstanding with the king of Ashantee down to this period,—was it just, I would ask, or creditable, without paying the compliment first of demanding the offender to be delivered up, to adopt such precipitate and summary proceedings? Was it agreeable even to that particular clause in the treaty made by Mr. Bowdich, which ran to the following effect.—"*The governor reserves to himself the right of punishing any of the subjects of Ashantee, guilty of secondary offences; but in cases of magnitude the offenders shall be sent to the king to be dealt with according to the laws of their country.*" Although we were not upon friendly terms with the king, we certainly were not in hostility, for hitherto the Ashantees had conducted themselves with the greatest propriety and moderation, as it has been already described, paying for every thing they required in gold. But now they no longer deemed it requisite to observe the bounds of neutrality, as in all probability they may have conceived that British councils, as they were regulated and administered in Africa, certainly teemed with nothing but perfidy. This, it is true, is conjectural, but it seems very likely to have been the case, for the Ashantees having taken up their position at a short station inland of Cape Coast, never afterwards opened any conference with the authorities of the Cape, or

properly garrisoned, it would bid defiance every way to a powerful armament, whether by sea or land. St. Jago is scarcely two furlongs from El Mina, yet it is situated in what sixty years ago constituted a distinct kingdom, viz. Fetu, in which our chief establishment (Cape Coast) stands. El Mina, from which it is separated by a little river, called the Salt River, is the metropolis of another little kingdom westward, called in those days Commany, from which Commenda is derived. Fetu and Commany, although formerly very populous, were about equal in strength and extent of dominions; for the kings of each governed but the extent of eleven or twelve miles of coast, and inland in about the same proportion. The town of El Mina is built of stone, and it is the only one so constructed on the Gold Coast. Mouree is also another of these kingdoms or principalities, formerly called Saboe. Old Fantee, properly so called, lies next to the eastward, of which Annamaboe was the capital, but each of the others is considered of the same family.

held any direct communication whatever with them or the town, the natives of which scarcely ever durst trust themselves out of sight of their habitations, when necessitated by their respective employments to go in the "bush,"* although for a time they would probably have been secure from molestation, as the prince himself durst not certainly have acted in a military capacity (unless defensively, for so he told me himself,) without express orders from the court to that effect.

Let it be remembered, that besides the internal resources of the monarchy, every town upon the line of coast, El Mina itself included, acknowledged fealty and was tributary to Ashantee, and from El Mina alone the enemy might, if he had thought proper, put in motion from eight hundred to one thousand men, as the Dutch government, notwithstanding their great castle and the title by which they inherited it, claimed no sort of supremacy over that or any other town of Guinea, but on the contrary distinctly admitted the title by which the king claimed sovereignty over the whole extent of country, including all the towns upon the sea shore which are overlooked by their forts and factories, from Axim to the Volta.

That these, our rivals in commercial enterprise, did secretly rejoice at a misunderstanding between the king and the British authorities on the coast, whereby the latter were necessarily excluded from participating in the benefits of a lucrative trade in the precious metal, pure as the Ashantees carry it to market; and that these disputes should have been procrastinated to the unconscionable length of years, to their exclusive advantage and satisfaction, is what I can

* Notwithstanding the outcry about Fantee having been *ceded* to the king, the governor and council never actually presumed to have any right or title of protection over it, neither would the people have recognized their supremacy, or cast off their fealty to the king, to enjoy the very precarious protection of the whites at that time.

readily conceive, because I know it to be a fact, from the sentiments I gathered from the Dutch officers, when I was last at Elmina.* But is not this feeling strictly in unison with commercial rivality and private interests? Was it, taken in any sense, unnatural or unlooked for, that the Dutch should rejoice in the good fortune which accident alone, whether founded upon bad faith or bad politics among the contending parties, had cast in their way? If we thought proper, from private views and resentments, to enter into the quarrels of the natives, and make their "palavers" our own, at the risk of our dearest interests and the only motives which could induce a residence in such a climate, it surely did not follow that the Dutch, because they were of the same colour as ourselves, and were only distinguished by their blue coats instead of red, should tread in our steps, and follow the tortuous maze of a course of politics which they, and every sensible man, knew to be ruinous to their prosperity? Nor can it be imputed to a nation of such renown in these parts, (as successors to the Portuguese), that the government of the parent country, friendly as it is, in all its relations, with our own, should have contributed by any means, even of the most indirect tendency, to foment discord and kindle the embers of war, purposely to destroy the interests of their dearest ally, and those friends who love and serve them best. No, the government of the Netherlands is, as I conceive, too honorable and too grateful to entertain such sentiments, and her citizens and burghers

* His excellency, the late governor-general Oldenburgh, during one of my visits to Elmina, where I was his guest for some days, received a message from the king, purporting to learn what the sentiments of that nation were in reference to his misunderstanding with the British. To the honour of that gentleman's memory, be it recorded, that he took the messenger to the top of the castle, from whence, pointing eastward to Cape Coast, he said, "Do you see that flag?" Yes. "Then tell the king that the Dutch have ever esteemed him as a friend: they will have nothing to do, however, with quarrels; but so long as that flag shall be seen flying on its battlements, just so long will ours, for our monarchs are the greatest friends, and white men are all of one family.

too respectable to entertain any sentiment inimical to our happiness and prosperity in Africa, beyond the natural scope of local and commercial speculation, for which they are no way responsible, any more than ourselves.

Dearly as I love my country, and much as I respect its constitution, I can subscribe only to sentiments such as these; and if it has fallen to my humble pen to resist calumny and misrepresentation in other matters, it may as well include the task of vindicating the honour of Holland, and the good faith of its rulers, as far as their jurisdiction in Africa has come under my observation.* The Dutch then, I affirm, during my residence in that part of Africa, were in no way instrumental to the misfortunes that have since befallen our arms under Sir Charles M'Carthy; but they were the natural and foreseen results of early indiscretions, wherein Mr. Smith (I will take it religiously upon my conscience to say so) consulting, as it would seem, nothing but his own secret interests, prejudices, and animosities, drove the Ashantees to their only resource—arms, and prompted the government to adopt, what has been represented to them as the only alternative left to their choice, the necessity of vindicating the honour of the flag, and defending the settlement from foreign and barbarous devastation. The war, it is true, had not yet been proclaimed by the enemy down to the period when the forts were transferred to his majesty's government; but

* Some days previous to my leaving Coomassy, the Dutch sent a present to the king, of brocade, damask, and other rarities, which gave him great pleasure. To this present was annexed a message, whose purport may be gathered from the following sentences only: "The Dutch king is your friend as well as the English king, and now you are known in the land of the whites, every body will love you while you are the friend of their countrymen. The Dutch governor sends his compliments to congratulate you that the English king has sent an ambassador to Coomassy," &c. It must be admitted I did not learn this of the king. I was extremely anxious to know the purport of the message, fearing the possibility of a jealous interference, and I employed the Bashaw to obtain this intelligence.

when that event did happen, it must have been clearly perceptible that nothing short of a recourse to negociation, could prevent the probable consequences of that rash and precipitate attack on the natives of Mouree, coupled, as it was, with a train of auxiliary aggravations such as no sovereign upon earth, meriting a throne, could compatibly with his dignity endure.

In dismissing the subject of the little Mouree war, I shall simply point out to the reader, as an instance of the governor's military talent, the precarious situation in which he must have left Cape Coast, when himself, the residue of the officers, and all the townsmen capable of bearing arms, were pushed forward to rescue the eighty-nine men from their supposed perilous situation on the eastern beach, as it was not known at the time that they had sought the favour of the *friendly* castle, whose flag they had insulted. Surely if I know any thing about Cape Coast, there could scarcely have been more than two sentinels left to guard the gates, and an invalid, perhaps, in charge of the fort. And as regards the town, it must have been proportionably defenceless. Still, however, it is consistent with other proceedings, and where is there room for astonishment?

To return to the sequel of this narrative, Sir Charles M'Carthy,* whom I was in the practice of visiting during his residences in London, obtained, about the time of the Mouree affair, through the interest of certain individuals, an appointment as governor in chief of the whole of our settlements on the western coast of Africa, from the Gambia to the Volta rivers, the former inclusive. The death of my correspondents, Messrs. Gordon and Collins, happened at no great distance of time after these regulations were carried into effect; but before Sir

* This gentleman, it may be recollected, I was upon friendly terms with at Sierra Leone, he also sailed for England a short time after I left that colony, and the honour of knighthood was conferred upon him soon after his arrival.

Charles left England, I had many interviews with him, wherein I took some pains to impress upon that gentleman a just conception of the impolicy and injustice of late proceedings. Sir Charles, I believe, was at this period of my own way of thinking, for his reasonings inclined to the same object as that for which I was commissioned, viz. that of promoting commerce with the interior of Africa, (and consequently through the dominions of Ashantee) by every possible means consistent with the dignity of the flag and the interests of the colonists. Sir Charles, however, was pleased to consider somewhat lightly, descriptions which tended to convey an adequate idea of the disposable force of Ashantee. He doubted that the king could send into the field more than twenty or twenty-five thousand men; yet had he confided in the reports of his friend Sir George Collier, he would at least have coincided in opinion with the commodore, that the dispositions of the sovereign, his tributaries, and people, were extremely prone to war, and the population considerable, and proportionate to the great extent of territory held by that government; for Sir George (from the information furnished him by Mr. Smith, whose object in this particular, and at this time, was by no means to deviate from the truth *, (unless in derogation of the king), has represented in his reports that "the Ashantee army is *numerous beyond belief*, and though quite an irregular mass †, yet more than sixty thousand men can be collected, acquainted with the use of *fire arms*, and ready to sacrifice their *lives* to the nod or caprice of their chief or king, who is known to be *savage* and *cruel* in the extreme ‡."

* I know, notwithstanding, that accounts were transmitted to government on another occasion, stating that "the power and means of the king of Ashantee were extremely limited."

† Sir George, however, was not well informed of the military discipline of the Ashantees.

‡ Neither was he better acquainted with the nature of the king's disposition, who, in regard to his own people, or those of friendly powers, certainly does not deserve the name of savage and cruel—with reference to enemies, I have elsewhere pourtrayed the negro character, a character which I fear has too close an affinity to the human heart in general, white or black,—i. e. the negro never forgets, or forgives, unless atonement is made in time.

Sir Charles finally sailed for the Gold Coast, by the circuitous route and stoppages at the Gambia, Sierra Leone, &c. He landed at Cape Coast Castle in the early part of the year 1822, and found that settlement as might have been expected, and, as had been described, like a gangrened member of the empire, from which all communication was cut off, to prevent the contagion from spreading and infecting the vitals. It was in fact a dreary solitude, as regarded its former connexions with the interior; and with respect to information of any thing but the objects which immediately surrounded the castle, the colonists might as well have been stationed upon the little barren rock of Ascension in the midst of the Atlantic waves, for they were strictly blockaded, although no enemy could be seen. Trade, of course, was at a total stand, except as regarded the supply of the Dutch merchants, and one or two of the settlements both to windward and leeward, where the inland traders occasionally resorted with their gold and ivory. This was the reputable state to which Mr. Smith, to say the least of it, from mistaken notions of honour and dignity, had reduced the national reputation in Africa, and the character of its sovereign at the court of Ashantee: and this was the state in which he resigned into the hands of Sir Charles M'Carthy the guardianship of that flag, whose reputation, tarnished as I conceive it was by such a train of proceedings, he could not, it is probable, at the utmost stretch of ingenuity, have protected from the last violence and insult many months longer.

A change of chief governors, it would seem, led the king to hope for a change in the hostile sentiments of the whites; hence for several subsequent months he was quiet, and Cape Coast, although as rigidly blockaded as ever, enjoyed its solitude and that delusion of tranquillity which it had imposed upon itself. As it became apparent to the *enemy* (for such he was now considered and characterised), that the new governor was treading in the path of his predecessor, as regarded the "palaver," and that little or no hope remained that the British could or would descend to expostulation after so great an infraction of

the peace, he laid an embargo, it is imagined, even upon the tongues* of his trading subjects, who visited either the Dutch or windward

* By administering the oath draught, as it is termed. Before our conferences opened at Coomassy, the king compelled my linguists, and his own together, to take this species of "Fetische," not, however, for the purpose of stopping their mouths, but as a compulsory obligation, which enjoined, under the penalty of death, and the vengeance of the gods, a strict adherence to truth in the faithful interpretation of words and sentiments. The same draught is administered in all cases where the monarch's interests are concerned, and it was usual to compel the traders to take it during the Gaman war, that they might divulge nothing prejudicial to their sovereign, during their sojournment at the settlements. On their return to Coomassy, the oath was repeated under another obligation, viz. that they should report faithfully every political circumstance which came within the compass of their knowledge, binding themselves by the usual covenant of invocations and imprecations. The force and impression of this fetische may be well imagined, when I relate that my linguists, terrified at the bare thought of taking the oath draught, (simply a sort of consecrated water impregnated with sacred vegetable infusions,) urged me by various moving intreaties to prevail on the king to exempt them from compliance. Of course I would do nothing that way, as it was my interest as well as that of the sovereign to be able to distinguish falsehood from truth. The crowd of courtiers and priests, on that occasion, impeded the vision, so that I could not observe the particular ceremonies without committing a breach of decorum, and forgetting my rank, &c. I confess my incompetence therefore to explain the mystery, but for the reader's amusement shall quote what Bosman, on his own authority, relates. "The oath draught is usually accompanied with an imprecation that the fetische may kill them if they do not perform the contents of their obligation, and all parties are obliged to drink this swearing liquor. But of late years, (in covenants between party interests) some negroes are so refined that they oblige the priest to swear first, and drink the oath draught with an imprecation that the priests should punish him with death, if he ever absolved any person from their oath, without the unanimous consent of all. If you ask what opinion the negroes have of those who falsify the obligations of the oath draught, they believe the perjured person shall be swelled by that liquor till he bursts; or if that doth not happen, that he shall shortly die of a languishing sickness: the first punishment they imagine more peculiar to women, who take this draught to acquit themselves of any accusation of adultery, and if I may be allowed to make a comparison, this drink seems very like the bitter water administered to the women in the Old Testament, by way of purgation from the charge of adultery." The following is the form he describes of the most obligatory oath known :—

"Each priest or feticheer hath his peculiar idol prepared and adjusted in a particular and different manner, but most of them like the following description. They have a great wooden pipe filled with earth, oil, blood, and bones of dead men and beasts, feathers, hair, and to be short, of all sorts of excrementitious and filthy trash, which they do not endeavour to mould into any shape, but lay it in a confused heap in the pipe. The negro who is to take an oath before this idol is placed directly opposite to it an asks the priest the name of his idol (each having a particular one), of which being informed, he calls the fetische by its name, and recites at large the contents of what he designs to bind by an oath, and makes it his petitionary request that the idol may punish him with death if he swears falsely; then he goes round the pipe and stands still and swears a second time as before, and so a third time likewise,

settlements, and it was impossible to gain any intelligence whatever relating to the interior. Indeed it was not so much as known at what particular spot the Ashantees had stationed themselves.

Whatever opinions Sir Charles M'Carthy may have imbibed in England or at Sierra Leone, in respect to Ashantee (where indeed all his information concerning the Gold Coast must have been gained,) it seems he was extremely anxious to learn more of that country than what he could glean either from the reports of Sir George Collier or Mr. Smith, or from the works of Mr. Bowdich and Mr. Hutton. This anxiety was expressed in letters which he addressed to me in the year 1822, urging me, (agreeably to my representations to him in London that I had much important information to communicate) to lose no time in pushing matters forward, and desiring to have two or three copies of the present work by the very first opportunity, if I did not bring them out myself. Sir Charles, moreover, evinced a desire to obtain prompt information as regarded some, perhaps the political knowledge I had gained at Ashantee, but time and occupation rendering it impossible I could oblige him, I was reluctantly compelled to resign the honour of a correspondence, which private feelings of friendship and respect would have influenced me to continue, although my sentiments could never have swerved from that tone and feeling which have hitherto guided my pen, and therefore might not have been productive of good, if, as it was reported some months afterwards, Sir Charles seriously meditated, as soon as he should have organized an army, marching with it to Coomassy to dethrone the king in his capital.

after which the priest takes some of the mentioned ingredients out of the pipe, with which he touches the swearer's head, arms, belly, and legs, and holding it above his head, turns it three times round, then he cuts off a bit of the nail of one finger in each hand, of one toe of each foot, and some of the hair of his head, which he throws into the pipe where the idol is lodged: all which done the oath is firmly obligatory." (pages 124, 125, 126.) This is descriptive of the coast "fetische," but I believe it to be very similar to that which the Ashantees themselves practise, and which I have witnessed in various forms, excepting only the oath draught. The Moslems themselves are terrified at the *oby* of the Ashantees—the king's fetische.

To pursue this narrative,—Sir Charles speedily set about organizing the natives whose towns are situated under the castles; for hitherto this precaution had never been taken by his predecessor; and while this was transacting, every thing was as quiet as if no such country as Ashantee existed. It was not conjectured that the enemy might have been engaged in an inland war, neither that he was busying himself with preparations* for a campaign on the sea coast; but on the con-

* The Ashantees never undertake any national concerns without invocations to the deities, conjurations, incantations, and a variety of customs which occupy incredible time, as these mysteries can only be practised on particular days of the week or month, the others being deemed ominous and portending evil, are days of grief and tribulation. Out of the 365, the proportion of good or lucky days, the Bashaw says, is no more than 150 or 160. During the evil days, councils cannot be holden, nor can troops either march or engage the enemy, unless in self-defence. An Ashantee army, in proportion to the rank of its commander, and certainly if the king was at its head, could not march to Cape Coast or to the seaside in less than three or four months, for there are various other causes (independent also of circumspection, rank, and dignity) to impede the march, such as divinations from the flight of birds, track of particular beetles and insects, screechings of the turkey buzzard, dreams, predictions, celebration of customs, &c. &c. In short, the Ashantees are slow, and I believe, cautious in the cabinet; they are slower, however, in warlike movements, and, for those very reasons, more to be dreaded by those who do not know them; and certainly no man had a just conception of this nation during my residence on the Gold Coast. The Ashantees are energetic in the field on days when they can act; and, as the Bashaw and the Moslems in general relate, are more justly dreaded than any other tribe of Negroes. When the army takes the field, it usually pushes forward a body of two or three thousand men to the distance of a day or two in advance of the main army, covering the enemy's towns and frontiers by little detached corps of observation, who prosecute their march during the silence of night, in the most intricate parts of the forest, only seeking refuge as occasion may require, in the loftiest boughs of the trees, where they sustain life for many days, if necessary, upon a sort of soluble gum, pounded grain, and "war nuts," called by them Boesie, which they never travel without. As the main body advances, so do these detachments, and when the king and priesthood deem the opportunity a fit one for battle, these corps of observation, strengthened by others, concentrate themselves within a compass adequate to support the war with a most deadly effect from ambush and intrenched positions, or from the canopy which conceals their comrades; for during the attack, these elevated warriors pour incessantly upon the foe a tempest of musquet-shot, and poisoned missiles, javelins, and arrows.

The precautions taken by the Ashantees, during a march through the enemy's country, are equal to what is related of the tribes of North American Indians; and it is almost impossible to collect intelligence adapted to the service of an opposing force. Incredible as it may seem, it often occurs, as it happened in the Gaman war, that the king in person, at the head of an army, is able to conceal himself in the heart of an enemy's country (provided there are forests of sufficient capacity) until the crisis for action is deemed auspicious.

trary, it was believed that the king would be contented to preserve a defensive posture. It was hoped, that besides the organization of the militia, as they were called, (the bands of Fantees, or Cape Coast people, whose cause we had adopted) government would plentifully supply the place with arms, ammunition, &c., and men, if needful; but the latter were scarcely deemed needful at this time, as the colony of Sierra Leone and the shipping would furnish as many as might be wanting, if the enemy should evince more activity, or become bolder than heretofore.

Sir Charles, conformably to the system pursued by the great Cortez, the conqueror of the empire of Mexico, judiciously enough for defensive war, formed certain little alliances with a few of the inferior southern tribes of Fantees, Fetuans, Dinkrans, Inkrans, &c.. But besides that the bulk of the population of these parts, whose numbers since the wars of conquest were never great, still adhered faithfully in allegiance to the king, those mercenaries who embarked in the cause were never steady, and I believe never attached to our interests beyond the natural feeling that they did not wish to pay gold to the king or to any one else, whether their protectors or their oppressors.

Towards the close of the year 1823, Sir Charles, who doubtless was extremely impatient at the rigorous blockade enforced by the Ashantees, seemed to have come to a final resolution of marching at the head of his militia bands and West India troops into the interior, for the purpose of dethroning the king. He accordingly, I believe, wrote home (to England) for cannon of the description of light artillery*. In the mean while he arranged his plans for the meditated campaign; intending to avail himself of the ensuing dry season, which usually commences about the middle of November. Sir Charles, to

* The artillery certainly could have been of no use in such a forest as I have described, nor indeed would it have been practicable to transport the pieces, unless by dismounting them from the trucks, and loading the heads of the people with both. In open spots, however, there can be no doubt that they would prove very destructive engines.

whom credit is due for more than a moderate share of activity, zeal and talent, as a governor, did not neglect opportunities of improving the condition of the settlements, for indeed a very great proportion of his time, as was usual with him at Sierra Leone, was devoted exclusively to that important object.

Thus situated, the most sanguine hopes were entertained by the particular friends of Sir Charles, of the success which they imagined must, or would attend a plan of military operations conducted by him upon a scale of such imposing magnitude. About the month of March last (1824) further accounts were received from the Gold Coast, but they were in no way important, except as it was stated in a private letter, the king—the inflexible, the hospitable, the celebrated, the friendly, the distressed *Sai Quamina*, was no more; having, as it would appear, departed this life in grief and vexation, bequeathing to his successor the kingdom and the palaver together, as Mr. Smith had already resigned his share of it to the interest which succeeded him. The successor to Sai, the same accounts stated, had commenced his reign by an *edict* against the British, wherein they were accused (whether justly or not it is the reader's province to decide) of perfidy, infractions of treaties, violations of public faith, treachery, cruelty, &c. To revenge which, and to appease the shade of the departed conqueror, in the region of spirits, the new monarch vowed eternal war against the British until he had obtained satisfaction; declaring (in the form of the great oath of his predecessors) that he would not cease from hostility until he had watered the grave of the departed Sai Quamina with the blood of white men, &c.*

* It is essential to observe, that the account of the king's death may not be true, although it is highly probable. If correct, it induces me to suppose that that monarch was tenacious of the oath he had sworn to me, of fidelity; and under the fear of incurring the displeasure of his gods, by violating it he might possibly never have had recourse to other measures than those which he had already pursued in maintaining a defensive posture against the settlements. Certain it is, as the king confessed to me,

The first victim to the first aggressive act on the part of the Ashantees fell at a short period after this event, when they surprised a black man, who filled the situation of corporal in our service, and whom they put to death, as is their usual practice in common with all negroes. To revenge this insult, and to co-operate at the same time with Captain Laing, who had the command of another division of troops in the neighbourhood of Annamaboe, now the capital of Fantee, Sir Charles resolved immediately to take the field.

Thus, as it was believed, upon the eve of the most important transaction that has ever been witnessed in that part of Africa, and while the public, from the nature of the last accounts, were in hopeful and sanguine expectations of receiving advices from Africa of the most satisfactory and flattering character, the appalling news reached England of defeat and distress. But let the reader form his own judgment upon the materials, as some of them have been already laid before the public. "The new energy displayed by the English on the Gold Coast imposed a salutary check on the savage chief of Ashantee, and at the same time held out to the neighbouring states a hope of protection against his oppressions. He was, therefore, for some time, quiet; but having *in a fit of passion* seized on a negro sergeant in our service, Sir C. M'Carthy felt himself bound to avenge the insult. A new corps had been formed on the Gold Coast under the title of the Royal African Light Infantry, and had attained a *high degree* of *discipline;* a detachment of this corps took the field under Captain Laing, an officer peculiarly well qualified for this service, inasmuch as he had a year or two before penetrated very far into the interior on an exploratory mission from Sierra Leone. The tribes which

that neither inclination, policy, nor the desire of getting the good things, possessed by the whites in their castles, could ever induce him to do them an injury. They were his best friends he said, for he derived all his power and influence through their means. In truth, it is not probable that the Ashantees, unless their safety depended upon it, would ever attempt our expulsion from the sea coast.

had previously suffered from the tyranny of Sai Tooto Quamina now seized the opportunity of shaking off his yoke, and many swore allegiance to the English government. In May last (1823) all the districts on the sea coast, west of the Volta, were in arms, to the amount of 30,000 warriors, while in the *interior* the inhabitants *unanimously* refused to pay the tributary exactions. Captain Laing took the Fantee country under his especial care. This officer in August last * (with a detachment of the West India regiment, and a detachment of the Annamaboe militia, supported by several native chiefs, totally defeated the Ashantees at Assecuma. On the 19th of last November, Sir Charles M'Carthy arrived from Sierra Leone, at Cape Coast, to take upon himself, in person, the direction of public affairs there. At that time it is stated the Ashantees had not ventured to approach the coast. A camp had been formed of the British troops (including the West India regiments, and others from Sierra Leone,) and great numbers of the native chiefs had joined them and sworn allegiance to the British government.

This is the substance of the reports of public transactions. Now it will be essential to turn to the less consolatory matters of private correspondence; the truth of which is too prominent to need any observation of its authenticity.

Accra, January 31, 1824.

"It is unnecessary for me to communicate to you the seizure of one of our sergeants by order of the Ashantee Despot, and other causes that have led to a war between the British and that nation, as you have already been put in possession of these circumstances by my friend ——. Suffice it to say your prediction (that unless speedy and effectual aid were sent from England, things would go hard with us,) has been too soon verified. The Ashantees have long threatened us with an attack; and on the 25th of last month intelligence was brought to Sir C. M'Carthy, that they were approaching the coast; but contrary to

* About the time the sergeant was killed by the Ashantees.

what is usual, their forces were by report *diminished* as to their real numbers; the consequence was that Sir Charles divided his forces in four divisions, and marched into *the interior!* The enemy instead of dividing theirs, collected a force of 10,000 men, and attacked the division commanded by Sir Charles himself, (who did not muster 1000 muskets) and I regret to say, totally defeated and dispersed it! The whole of the whites are either killed or missing, except Major Ricketts and Ensign Erskine, who after many hardships, have succeeded in getting to Cape Coast. Among the killed and missing are Sir Charles himself, Messrs Buckle and Wetherill from Sierra Leone; also Robertson,* Dr. Tedlie, Jones, Brandon, Williams and Keddle of Cape Coast, all of whom you have seen, and several others with whom you are not acquainted. H——* and I were with the Accra division, commanded by Captain Blenkarne, and at least 150 miles to the eastward of Sir Charles, when this afflicting intelligence was brought to us; and by the same messenger we were ordered to fall back on Accra, and put the town and port in the best state of defence. It will now be seen that the Ashantees are a *people not to be utterly despised!*† In short it has come to this, if government do not instantly send out two or three thousand troops to put down this power, they must withdraw the British flag from the coast, and leave the field to the *cunning* Dutchmen to reap the harvest of *their* intrigue. The moment the issue of the battle was known, the people of El Mina commenced seizing our people, and those of Shamah, (another Dutch settlement) had the temerity to fire on the boats of the *Owen Glendower!* But here they suffered for their rashness by the total destruction of

* This was my friend and correspondent before spoken of.

† This sentiment indeed betrays the fatal secret that Sir Charles was over confident, perhaps deluded by the puerile or false insinuations of his predecessor in respect to Ashantee and its monarch. If so, to what an extent has not Mr. Smith to atone to his country, whether this loss of blood, treasure, commerce, and honour, may have proceeded from ignorance or misrepresentation, calumny or resentments, or secret intrigues and interests.

the town. It is a most *fortunate* circumstance that the frigate was in the vicinity of Cape Coast at this moment, as I know not how much *more* dreadful the result would have been. The divisions commanded by Majors Chisholm and Laing have returned to Cape Coast and Annamaboe; they can get no tidings of either Sir Charles or the Ashantees, and it is supposed the latter have fallen back a short distance to communicate their great success to their king, before they renew the contest. Sir Charles's orderly, who escaped from the field, affirms that Sir Charles was wounded in two places early in the action.

"It is but justice to say, the Danish governor Richlieu, has acted the part of a man of honour towards us. He has spared neither expence nor personal exertion to assist us in putting down the Ashantees, and if the Dutch had acted the same part, matters would ere this have been settled in our favour. To secure the favour and trade of the Ashantees, the Dutch have been so mean as to instil into the minds of these *people that our object* is to bring *their nation* under *our yoke*,* and if we are driven from the coast, they (the Ashantees,) will again have opportunities of disposing of their slaves to the Portuguese and Spanish vessels!

P. S.—"A report has just reached us, that Sir Charles is *safe* among the Dinqueras, a country situate about sixty-five miles north west of Cape coast, and in our alliance. I sincerely hope this report may be confirmed, but for my part, I much doubt it."

Accra, January 31, 1824.

"The late disastrous events have brought us into a very critical situation! On the 29th ultimo Sir Charles directed Captain Blenkarne,

* Setting all prejudices aside, it would hardly have been possible for the Ashantees to draw any other conclusions from the magnitude of our military preparations on the coast. I greatly fear the king must have reflected as I have done myself, with bitterness of feeling upon the days when he favoured me with a visit at my quarters, to explain the fears of his captains respecting the Fantees—as on the day when he made me swear I had no intention to deceive him, and arm the Southern tribes to war upon him. It would be thought romantic to say, my heart still throbs with anguish at the retrospect.

the commandant of James Fort, Accra, to proceed to Aikin, and there to form an encampment. The object of this was (I have some reason to think) to menace and divide the forces of the Ashantees. We left this on the 4th instant for that purpose, but in consequence of some dissatisfaction among those on whom we relied for aid, our forces were but slender, and after having remained in the Aguassim territory three weeks, our forces having *refused* to *proceed*, we were *obliged* to fall back on this place. In the mean time, our good governor, hoping by his own presence to infuse confidence into the *dastardly* Fantees, among whom he had trusted himself, was attacked on the 21st instant by 10,000 Shantees who had been *near* him for *some* days. It was unfortunate that at this time, a force under Major Chisholm, another under Captain Lestrange, and a third under Captain Laing, were all at distinct camps, and knew nothing of what was going on until all was over. We have nothing authentic, but report is busy in making bad worse. We have every reason to believe almost all the whites have been killed. Mr. Erskine, the only officer who returned, is wounded; Sir Charles is said to have been wounded in two places; nothing to this day has been heard of him. The action took place behind Secondee almost ten miles inland. The wounded (one hundred) made their way to that settlement and afterwards to the Cape, in canoes. On the 28th, Major Chisholm returned to Cape Coast, but had not heard of Sir Charles. He mustered all the forces he could, and Captain Laing was sent with him to search for Sir Charles. The amount of their forces I cannot state, not having heard, but the *blacks* are, I fear, *panic* struck.

Government will see the necessity of now doing what ought to have been done long ago. Unless three or four thousand men are sent out to beat these *savages* out of hand, they will keep the country agitated until they effect the total subjugation of the coasts. You can scarcely imagine the panic which prevails *every where*. The defeat appears by the imperfect accounts we now have, to have been *complete*. The forces under Sir Charles, are supposed to have been only five

hundred.* What was that to ten thousand, in a wood, surrounded and out of ammunition? Poor poor Sir Charles! The *treacherous* and *timorous boasting Fantees have effected a mischance* which *time* cannot repair. If alive what must be your feelings! If no more, how horrid a death must we suppose to have been invented for you! Major Chisholm is doing all he can to put this castle in a state to repel every aggression. The *sincerity* of the Dutch is doubtful. The enemy have not been heard of since the action; they are, it is supposed, returned to their encampment; *we* are the most exposed to their attacks, this situation being so open."

Thus far had the printing of this work proceeded, when the following correspondence appeared in the daily journals, containing but too simple a solution of the silence of my own friends. They had *all* perished in this unequal contest. My predictions have been but too completely fulfilled. †

* This is not probable when it seems the British confederated force, allies included, could assemble together 30,000 men. If true, however, it is an unaccountable sample of that prejudice or contempt entertained for the enemy. Sir Charles's judgment must have been clouded indeed, to have dreamt of marching ten miles inland with five hundred men only!!!

" Cape Coast, Feb. 23.

† " The news I have to tell you are of the most distressing nature. His Excellency Sir C. M'Carthy, with a few regulars and militia, and some of the natives, made a rapid advance into the Wassaw country to repel the Ashantees, who advanced in great numbers, and in the most gallant style. The attack commenced about two o'clock p. m., on the 21st of January, across a river about twenty or thirty feet wide. The firing was tremendous on both sides till six p. m., when it was found the ammunition on our side was all expended; on which the Ashantees began to cross the river in great numbers, and the havoc began. The natives of our party (the Fantees) would never carry bayonets; but the regulars and militia used them with the most deadly effect. Each one bayonetted three or four Ashantees; then, snatching the bayonet from the musket, they dashed into the middle of the enemy's force, falling nobly and killing till the last. As his Excellency and staff commenced retreating, they were attacked in the rear by about two thousand of the enemy, who had been sent round to intercept them, after which nothing certain has been learned of any of the whites. Only two officers escaped out of the battle, who were Brigade Major Ricketts and Lieutenant Erskine. Those that are missing are his Excellency Sir Charles M'Carthy, the Honourable Mr. Buckle, Messrs. Wetherell, Williams, Heddle, Jones, Rayden, Robertson, Tedlie, Brandon. There is not a doubt of his Excellency and most of them being killed. It is said their

corpses were used in the most shocking manner. It is pretty well ascertained that Williams is a prisoner. Thus in one day has the sword cut off what disease left.

"The most lamentable part of the catastrophe is, that it was caused in a great measure by the officer who had charge of the ammunition, and did not bring it forward as he ought: the Ashantees never would have broken our line had there been powder. When Major Ricketts went to open the three last kegs, he found—what think you? Why *Macaroni!!!*—while the Ashantees, who plundered the camp next day, took ten barrels of ball-cartridges, with a great quantity of other booty. When we got the news of Sir Charles's disastrous fight, we retreated directly; captain Laing going to Cape Coast, by the way of Annamaboe, while I, with Mr. Fraser, and all the Fantee force, marched across the country to reinforce Major Chisholm; but when Captain Laing arrived at Annamaboo, the reports from Cape Coast were, that the major and his party were also cut to pieces, and he sent expresses after me to fall back and garrison Cape Coast, as the panic was so great, and an attack dreaded. I shall always recollect with pleasure, the reception I met with when the standard was seen advancing over the rocks, and the bugles played 'Over the hills and far away.' The whole town appeared mad with joy: such a day in a man's life richly repays for years of pain. Fortunately, next day, Major Chisholm and party arrived, having never been engaged. I was ordered to occupy the camp of Djguah with my little band of eighty; none of the auxiliaries having come up.

"All trade is at a complete stop; every merchant's goods are deposited in the forts, which I have no doubt we shall have to defend till we hear from England, as the Ashantees will no doubt make a push to destroy us before supplies can come out. The short of the matter is this—England must either now withdraw her protection from this coast, or send down a force to put down as cruel an enemy as the world produces. The loss of the merchants is not to be calculated, such a quantity of goods being on hand."

Another letter of the same date says,

"When Sir Charles M'Carthy and Major Chisholm were in the interior, they divided their army, and each took a different route. Sir Charles, I hear, had only 1,000 men and ten officers, of which only fifty have returned. They had gone but a short way, when they were attacked by the Ashantees, by all accounts 10,000 in number. Our party behaved very well, and had much the advantage, until they found all their ammunition was expended. There were only two officers that were not killed, and they had to make their escape after being wounded. The battle took place on the 21st, and we did not hear of it until the 23d ultimo. Poor Mr. Heddle was the first that fell a sacrifice to these dreadful barbarians. He was shot through both his knees, and in that state he killed with his sword two of the enemy. In a short time after a party of the Ashantees came to cut off his head, when he shot himself in the heart.

"The officers who returned wounded are Major Ricketts and Ensign Erskine. It is said that the heads of those who were killed are carried to Coomassy. We expect the enemy to come down to attack this place, but if they do, they will meet with a warm reception, as we have the frigate *Owen Glendower* and the *Raven* sloop of war to assist us. I have put all our property into the castle for safety; but I do not think there is the least fear, but it is better to be on the safe side, as the people of the Dutch fort of Elmina are supposed to be rather favourable to the Ashantees. We have blockaded

Drawn by I. Dupuis.

A Caboceer of Ashantee equipt for War.

it to prevent any supplies being brought there. In fact, we shall never be at peace until Elmina is under the British flag; and instead of Government sending out a few white troops, they should send out three or four regiments. Major Chisholm is sending home despatches, and I have no doubt he has stated to Government the actual necessity of sending immediate relief."

Cape Coast Castle, March 23, 1824.

The following are the heads of what has lately occurred on this coast:—

The late warfare that the Gold Coast has been engaged in with the Ashantees, for the last twelve months, has created little or no importance until the present period.

His Excellency, Sir Charles M'Carthy arrived here from Sierra Leone, in December last, and in the early part of January marched to the interior, towards the river Pra, with the force of from 6,000 to 7,000 men, consisting of natives and companies of a West India regiment. On the 21st of January, near the Pra, a most desperate battle was fought, and from the superior force of the enemy, they had surrounded our troops in every direction; and after our ammunition was totally expended, the troops under Sir Charles retreated, with a loss of nearly all the officers, and sorry I am to state the inhuman manner in which they have been treated, amongst whom the gallant chief, Sir Charles M'Carthy, who was wounded and taken prisoner. The loss of the Ashantees was upwards of 1,000, who were brought down by our fire. Every possible means has been taken to ascertain the loss of our officers and men, and intelligence has been received from a messenger, who saw at the enemy's camp the heads of nine white men (officers) with their jaw-bones taken out, and amongst them was the head of sir Charles. This is invariably a practice among these savages, when an enemy falls into their hands. It is said, that our loss of men was not to any great amount: out of 140, said to have arrived in the *Joseph Green* transport in November last, one half have paid the debt of nature.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Williams, the Colonial Secretary, addressed, to the commandant of Cape Coast Castle, from the Dutch settlement of Elmina, dated March, 1824, and read to the writer of the above by Brigade Major Ricketts, the day before I sailed from Cape Coast Castle, March 22, 1814:—

"It was my fortune to be near our lamented chief when he received a wound in the breast by a musket ball, I believe mortal. Buckle, Wetherell, and myself conveyed him under shelter of the nearest tree, and there sat to await that fate which appeared inevitable. We had not remained long before we were discovered by the enemy, who immediately rushed on us with their knives. In the struggle, I received a desperate cut on the left side of my neck, and before the stroke could be repeated, a man who appeared to be of authority among them fortunately passed, and ordered my executioner to desist, which was immediately complied with. On my being released from their grasp, and turning round, I was horror-struck at seeing my three companions lying headless corpses at my feet. I was now bound as a prisoner and conveyed towards their camp."

A strong force have now crossed the Pra, under the command of Captain Blenkairn, West India regiment; and it is to be hoped that the Ashantees will meet their reward. An action is hourly expected to take place, and the natives appear fully resolved to revenge the fate of our poor countrymen. The *Owen Glendower* has been usefully and actively engaged with the army in destroying the towns along the coast, where the enemy had taken shelter; she sails to-morrow morning to destroy a town in the Gaboom, which has lately insulted the British flag, and murdered the crew of an English merchant vessel.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF ASHANTEE.

ANTIQUITY AND POWER OF THE MONARCHY OF ASHANTEE—NATIONAL CHARACTER—WAR OF DINKIRA—REIGN OF SAI TOOTO—MASSACRE AT ACROMANTEE—SAI APOKO—CIVIL WAR—SAI AKWASY—SAI KODJOH—WAR OF GAMAN—SAI QUAMINA—EMBASSY FROM DAHOMY—SAI APOKO II. —SAI TOOTO QUAMINA—WAR OF GHOFAN—FIRST BONTOKO WAR—WAR OF ASSIN—MURDER OF THE KING'S MESSENGERS BY THE FANTEES—FANTEE WAR—ATTACK OF ANNAMABO—DEATH OF CHEBOO—RATIFICATION OF THE TRUCE—EXCHANGE OF PRESENTS—PRISONERS OF WAR AWARDED TO THE GOVERNOR, AND THEIR DISPOSAL.

THE growth and consolidation of this comparatively great empire, is much talked of by the Heathens as well as Moslems; and both are agreed, that the tribes of Ashantee, Gaman, Dinkira, and Akim, were driven by the believers, in the early age of Islam, from their original inheritances in Ghobagho, Ghofan, and Tonouma, to the *forests of Wangara* (i. e. the states of Ashantee inclusively, and the south eastern parts of Gaman) where they maintained their independence at the expence of much blood, and defended the country gifted with the precious metal, against the most vigorous efforts that were made to bereave them of it. Whether the sea coast was already peopled, tradition does not say; but it is affirmed, the tribes spread over the land, down to the margin of the ocean, peopling, it may be conjectured, some countries which heretofore lay desolate, like the forests of

Fantee and Assin, and others, whose primitive inhabitants were not adequate to the defence of their towns. Thus, Ashantee, contrary to what may have been represented, is the parent country, and the stock from which the early generations of Fantees and Dinkirans sprung.

As early as the hejyran year 1000, and from that to 1050 (A. D. 1640,) Ashantee occasionally ruled, by its influence, over part of Akim, Assin, Quahou, and Akeyah: it was then esteemed a powerful little monarchy, and could probably send, in conjunction with its allies, sixty thousand men to the field, indifferently armed with bows and arrows, and a very few musquets; but even at that time they were men whose resolution, combined with a natural ferocity, rendered their name terribly illustrious among the adjacent tribes.

Nations, who term themselves the most civilized in the world, and others which are the most savage of the human species, seem equally anxious to justify every aggressive act, and vindicate the national honour, by repelling what in their own countries passes for calumny and falsehood. The Ashantees, not being competent to defend the honour of the throne, and the national character by written memorials, in the systematical style of Europe, endeavour to exonerate their sovereign and themselves from the odious imputation of violence and ambition, by harangues calculated to demonstrate that black is white, and white black; for the truth of which men are too apt to appeal to whatever may be considered sacred, whether it be the awful majesty of heaven, the day of final retribution, or the deities of heathen adoration and superstition: the rest is left to chance and the sword.

The Ashantees, of all ranks, are thus loyal and zealous, in common with other nations, and the king himself takes pleasure in recounting his forbearance, and describing the aggravation that roused the vengeance of his ancestors and himself, against those federal powers, which, in an earlier age, were independent little kingdoms, and now submit to the yoke of government as provinces of the empire. The king, during

various desultory conversations, took particular pains to ingraft an impression upon my mind, that it was a maxim associated with the *religion he professed,* never to appeal to the sword while a path lay open for negociation. He maintained that he would defy even his enemies to prove that his assertion deviated from the truth, either as regarded himself or his ancestors.* Be this as it may, the Moslems themselves corroborate the assertion, although they accuse the government of unbounded ambition.

The tribes under the early sovereigns (for they always enjoyed the rank and title of kings) were unsettled in their habitations, while the Arab influence yet existed on the Jolliba, Koara and Ghulby rivers; but they were firm and compact as a nation, and not (as my informers reported) wandering to the distance of the Arab.

It may not be amiss to observe, that in Africa, as in other countries where slavery is tolerated, the wretched captive frequently turns his thought towards home, his tribe and family. If his country is remote, he is certainly less tortured by hopes and fears respecting his emancipation; others, whose nation is a neighbouring one, and who are less valued on that very account, are more or less in the practice of emigrating in proportion to the treatment they receive; and if they can successfully conceal themselves in the forest from the pursuit of their masters, and the observation of travellers, they endeavour to shape a course towards their homes; but should they fail in the undertaking, at a distance, they simply exchange one master for another—a bargain which is rarely the most profitable to them, as the new proprietor becomes intimate with the secret propensity of his slave, and as an antidote for the evil generally sells him in a distant land. The slaves of Fantee, Ashantee, Assin, or

* It is worthy of remark, that many of the whites upon the gold coast so far acquiesced in these sentiments, as to admit that Ashantee has never been engaged in war with the maritime states from sheer caprice and rapacity. I may also be permitted to quote Mr. Mollan's words to me, "that he never knew the king to make a palaver without cause, or violate his word."

any other country thereabouts, absolutely find no security anywhere among the provinces, unless they are fortunate enough to incorporate themselves with the tribe they belong to, for, if they are picked up elsewhere, they become *legal* prizes, and I believe this custom prevails all over Africa.

The wars of Dinkira are still fresh in memory; the scull and thigh bones of its last monarch are still trophies of the court of Ashantee, and still those people, on solemn days, repeat their insults to the relics of its king and caboceers.* The origin of this war and its sequel, may be read in Bosman's Description of the Gold Coast, which is so far supported by current traditions, that I cannot do better than quote the author's words. "Dinkira, elevated by its great riches and power, became so arrogant, that it looked on all other negroes with a contemptible eye, esteeming them no more than its slaves, which rendered it the object of their common hatred, each impatiently wishing its downfall, though no nation was hardy enough to attack it, till the king of Asiante, injured and affronted by its governor, adventured to revenge himself on this nation in a signal manner."

"The occasion of which was this—Bosiante, the king of Dinkira, a young prince whose valour was become the admiration of all the negroes of the coast, sent some of his wives to compliment Zay, the king of Asiante; who not only received, and entertained them very civilly, but sent them back charged with several very considerable presents, to express his *obliging resentment* of the grateful embassy: and being resolved to return his obligation, he some time after sent some of his wives to compliment the king of Dinkira, and assure him of the great esteem he had for his person. These ambassadresses were not less splendidly treated at Dinkira, being also loaded with presents; but the king cast a wanton eye upon one of them, and

* After the decisive battle which preceded the conquest of Dinkira, the body of the deceased Boshanty (Bosiante) was disinterred. The flesh being separated from the bones, the former with barbarous indignity, was given to be devoured by serpents, and the latter (the scull and thigh bones) preserved as trophies.

being hurried on by exorbitant lust, gratified his brutal desire: after satisfying of which, he suffered her, together with the rest, to return to their country and their injured husband; who was informed of this affront: But he took care to make the king of Dinkira sensible that he would not rest till he had washed away the scandal in his injurious blood. After he was made sensible of the king of Asiante's resolution, knowing very well who he had to deal with, he heartily wished he had not been guilty of the crime; but since it was done, he offered him several hundred marks of gold to put up with the injury. The enraged prince, deaf to all such offers, prepared himself for a vigorous war, by raising a strong army, in order to make a descent on Dinkirat and not being sufficiently stored with gunpowder, he bought up great quantities on the coast, the Dinkirans being foolish enough to assist him themselves, suffering his subjects to pass with it uninterrupted through their country, notwithstanding they knew very well it was only designed for their destruction. Whilst he was making these preparations, the king of Dinkira died, which might encourage a belief that the impending cloud of war would blow over. Whether the governors of Dinkira were too haughty to implore a peace of the injured Zay, or he instigated by the enemies of that country, is uncertain; but he still immoveably persisted in his purpose of utterly extirpating the Dinkirans. And about the beginning of this year, being completely ready, he came with a terrible army into the field, and engaging the Dinkirans, who expected him, he beat them; but fighting them a second time, he entirely defeated them. The negroes report that in these two battles, above a hundred thousand men were killed. Of the negroes of Akim only, who came to the assistance of the Dinkirans, there were about thirty thousand killed, besides that a great Caboceer of Akim, with all his men, were cut off. "Thus," says this able author, "you see the towering pride of Dinkira in ashes, they being forced to fly before those whom they not long before thought no better than their slaves, and themselves being sold for slaves.

This Dinkira war, according to the Moslem records, commenced in their year, 1132 (A. D. 1719.) Bosman wrote in 1721, and he says, these transactions took place but a few months previous. This, they say, was the first great war in which the believers were compelled to unite their arms with the heathens of Ashantee, Banna, Juabin, and other tributary states in the North, led on to battle by Sai Tooto, dignified by his subjects with the epithet of Great. This monarch it was, who first raised Coomassy from an inconsiderable town to the rank it now enjoys as the metropolis of the empire. He did not, as Mr. Bowdich has represented, found Coomassy, but he increased its size to a capacity for the reception of the court and army, when he was influenced to translate the seat of government, which, heretofore, was occasionally established at Kikiwhary (N. of Coomassy) and Bequa, in the neighbourhood of Doompassy. Sai Tooto was already king before the seat of government was a permanent one, nor did he enjoy any increase of dignity, as the same author writes, although a great increase of power and influence, after the subjugation of Dinkira; for this kingdom introduced the Ashantees and Moslems to a knowledge of white men, by the consolidation of an empire now become maritime by its aspect over the Wossa country, whose sovereigns were compelled to suffer the Ashantees to pass as they might have occasion in the pursuit of commerce at the Dutch settlements, where their early supplies of powder and guns were obtained with commercial regularity.

The legends descriptive of the history of Ashantee, earlier than the reign of Sai Tooto, are somewhat obscure; but were they the reverse, it is not presumed the reader would find an interest in their perusal; for this reason I shall suppress a series of unconnected accounts relating to one or two of the earlier sovereigns.

The wisdom as well as valour of Sai Tooto are themes on which the natives dwell with a national satisfaction; in short, he was, as they say, the great, and the good; for, in his reign, justice was ever on the

alert, and the claims of his subjects were listened to without distinction of rank or title.

The conquests effected by this prince were more comprehensive than has been stated. He ravaged Assin with fire and sword, for some indignity offered by its monarch towards his person; he entirely subdued Quahou, and induced the government of Akim to a limited obedience. He subdued, besides Dinkira and Tofal, a great extent of country beyond the Tando river. He invaded Gaman with a powerful army, with which he vanquished those tribes, and reduced their monarch to the condition of a tributary. The Desert (of Ghofan) only was an impediment to the progress of his arms north; and, in short, he created an empire, including tributaries and allies, which was strictly of a feudal complexion, by the union of all those kingdoms and principalities between the 6th and 9th degrees of latitude, and between the 4th degree of longitude west from the meridian of London and the river Volta. The auxiliary kingdom of Banna was the right arm of Ashantee in those days, and still is.

Ashantee, however, excluding what it governed upon the western coast by influence alone, was yet to be considered an inland power; for during this reign its arms never penetrated within forty or fifty miles of the European settlements upon the sea side; and all those countries, viz. Aowin, Amanaha, Ahanta, Wossa, Fantee, Inkran, Aquapim, Aquambo, besides others their tributaries, on the line of coast, enjoyed the greatest political freedom among themselves; and many of them, if Bosman may be credited, wished for the downfal of Dinkira. Akim, it would seem, then a powerful little kingdom, was alone sensible that its proper interest warranted every exertion of vigour both in the cabinet and field, to keep back so powerful an invader, and preserve the equilibrium of the respective nations; hence, they joined their forces to the Dinkirans, and by the unfortunate result of the campaign, entailed upon their country the conqueror's vengeance; for the sovereign of Ashantee, who probably rejoiced in having so good a pretext for invad-

ing Akim, entered that territory with the victorious army, and after defeating the king in a pitched battle upon the confines, reduced him to the necessity of supplicating a peace, which was granted upon the condition of his becoming a tributary, and defraying the expence of the war, by a present of two thousand bendas* of gold; for the fulfilment of which, two Akim caboceers of high rank, named Kakramsee and Adjumako, were compelled to take fetische, and deliver themselves up hostages on behalf of their sovereign.

But these conditions the king of Akim endeavoured to evade, or, as some say, the captains of his army, and the great chieftains, who were called upon for their quota of the contribution, refused to subscribe to the terms of the truce, threatening, if their king would not lead them to battle, they would elect another in his place. Be the truth which way it may, Sai Tooto, impatient at the delay, and urged by the reiterated complaints of his rapacious captains, levied another army, which he sent against Akim, and, followed by the flower of his nobility, quitted the capital on the day following, to invoke the necessary aid of his tutelary deities, at the sepulchre of Bantama. After the celebration of certain orgies, the monarch tracked the steps of the army, at a leisure pace, and before he could join the main body, was suddenly assailed by a superior detachment of the enemy, as he was crossing the Praa at a ford where that river separates the province of Yomoha from Akim. The first volley, it is related, wounded the sovereign in the side; but still vigorous, he threw himself out of the hammock, and rallied his men as best he could; a second discharge from the forest killed him outright, and he fell with his face into the river. The consternation was now general; and in the panic that ensued, the Ashantees cast away their weapons, each man endeavouring to save himself; but in vain, for the ambuscade issuing from their concealment, fell sword in hand upon the fugitives, and put every one to death, to the

* The Benda is two ounces weight.

amount of two or three hundred persons, of whom sixty were women and children, either belonging to the monarch or his generals.

This calamity did not put an end to the war, which now broke out with greater fury than ever. A town called Acromantee, that harboured the enemy the night previous to the attack, (many or most of whom were inhabitants of the place) was consigned over to the army, as a proper object to wreak their fury upon; accordingly, it was razed by fire to the ground, and every living creature, men, women, cattle, and even fowls, except such as were of the sacred order, were doomed to bleed in expiation. *Miminda Acromantee*, (implying Saturday and Acromantee,) by which the national affliction is recorded, has been considered ever since an oath of the most solemn and unequivocal import; and the day itself has been cast into the calendar among the list of ominous days stigmatized by the Ashantees as days which forebode evil; for which reason they are dedicated to expiatory and propitiatory sacrifices; nor will any man, be the emergency what it may, commence the most trivial enterprize, either on Saturday or the other days so characterized. The words, as recorded, are deemed too profane to utter, unless in a whisper between friends; and this redoubtable oath is most commonly taken by inference only, as, the dreadful day, the day of the Gods' chastisement, &c. The effect of these expressions only, as I have witnessed at the court, clouds every brow with woe, from the king to the slave who stands behind his chair; many fly from the presence,—such, for instance, who are not men of influence at court, or who may be involved in litigious palavers, the issue of which is uncertain, and may be dangerously prejudiced when anger clouds the brow of Majesty. Others cover their faces with both hands, uttering at the time a charm or invocation to the patron Gods to shield them from the ominous import of those words, and the effects of the king's wrath or sorrow. If it is appealed to as an imprecation, while justice is pending between parties, it signifies that the life of one or both individuals is staked on the verdict,

i. e. upon the supposed justice of their cause; the oath itself entails the penalty of death, frequently by torture; and hence it arises, that many men bring those punishments upon themselves, from indiscretion in the heat of argument, where the sum contended for may not exceed the value of five shillings.

After the death of Sai Tooto, the Ashantee army returned home, bringing in their train a considerable number of prisoners, who were doomed to be immolated to his shade; for as to the body of the king, it was never recovered. A gloom pervaded the capital, and that gloom at last degenerated into bitter reproaches and invectives against certain chiefs of the Issounah tribe, who, it was suspected, had temporized with Assin while the king was on the march, and had, as it was imagined, betrayed the interest of the state, through an act of imprudence, in not bringing the Assins to battle at once. The kingdom stood in need both of a sovereign and a new order of nobility, as most of the ministers and officers holding the first rank were cut off at Cormantee; and these great changes were not effected without bloodshed. The conquered nations, thinking it a fit time to disencumber themselves from the chain of vassalage, while the capital was in commotion for the election of a new sovereign and new ministers, one by one proclaimed their independence, and refused payment of the customary tribute. Thus, when Sai Apoko, (سَيْ اَبُوكْ) the brother of the preceding monarch, was called to the throne, A.H. 1144, A.D. 1731, the wars of his predecessors were to be fought over again.

The most remarkable events during the reign of this prince, were the entire reduction of Assin and Akim, the re-occupation of Dinkra, the perfect conquest of Gaman, and its annexation to the empire as an unconditional tributary. In fact, this monarch once more gave stability and vigour to the government; and in effecting the subjugation of Bouromy and Yobati, which he shortly after did, it may be said he performed as much for his own glory as his great predecessor, and too much by far for the nations of the sea-coast to

expect any repose, while they were encircled by the territory of a prince whose subjects derived their very existence from foreign wars, as they themselves did from intestine ones, and the quarrels between the English and Dutch, in matters connected with local interest, when the parent countries were at war in Europe.

When Akim bowed to the yoke of the conqueror, a new election of chiefs ensued, and the lands were distributed among the favourites of the court. Then it was the Ashantees became possessed for the first time of certain deeds,* which in the language of the English settlers are termed notes,—the conqueror's right serving them as a title of course, (although it does not appear that this title procured them payment.) The path to the sea side was now invitingly exposed to this enterprizing nation. In the west they were masters of the defiles in Tofal, and upon the confines of Wossa, which opened to them a prospect of the kingdoms of Aowin and Amanaha, commonly called Apollonia; the former on the Ivory coast, near Bassam and Cape Lahon; Ahanta also lay before them on the south, and Fantee on the south-east. In the east, or east-south-east, they overlooked the now provinces of Inkran, or Accra, Aquapim, and Adampe, while Aquambo, the only existing kingdom in that quarter worthy that title, courted the conqueror's alliance, and was received into protection as a confederate of the empire.

* These notes, or title-deeds, convey an obligation on the part of the late African Company, to pay to the chiefs to whom they were delivered a certain annual sum, by way of rent for the ground upon which the settlements stand. At least, it cannot be denied that this was the original import of the deeds in question, for the object was to purchase security of person and property, by attaching the leading characters of the country to the British interest, while yet in its infancy. Mr. Bowdich, *upon his own testimony*, "laments the mortifying destruction of European records, by which he is confined to follow the reports of natives," on the subject of the notes in question. Whether this author felt that his own dignity was implicated, is not material. But had he candidly said, these feudal bonds, (for such they unquestionably are,) disgrace my country, and, (in the language of the king of Ashantee) put shame upon my face at the court of Coomassy, that the honour of my sovereign and the flag of the nation should be so degraded in the estimation of the lower classes of society, as to pay an indirect tribute, he would have spoken the language of zeal and honour.

In this stage of politics Sai Apoko, in the latter part of his reign, enacted new codes of laws, adapted for the government of the various departments of the state; but some of these regulations being considered inimical to the interests of the chiefs, and as they represented it again, to the public welfare, a dangerous conspiracy was raised against the throne, in the very heart of the kingdom. The capital, moreover, took a share in these transactions, and the king was obliged to fly his palace, by night, and seek refuge at Juabin, where he convened a sort of diet; but some of his enemies were already in arms, and he was compelled to the same alternative. The province of Akiah is celebrated for a battle, which Apoko fought with the rebels, near the town of Dinkenny, and which terminated in their utter discomfiture, although many of the ringleaders availed themselves of the vicinity of the mountains, and saved the remnant of their scattered followers by a precipitate flight. Here they endeavoured to make a defensive stand, while their friends in the city implored pardon on their behalf; this, under certain limitations, was granted, and the country, from a state of anarchy, again subsided into tranquillity. But the king did not survive long after, having been suddenly arrested by the stroke of death, as he was sitting in council; and he expired as the attendants were removing him to the harem, after a reign of twelve lunar years, short of some months, for he died A.H. 1156; A.D. 1742.

At the demise of this prince, a revocation of the obnoxious edicts took place, whereby an ample scope for ambition was again enjoyed by the chiefs of the army, whose object it was to preserve the old constitution, upon that basis which guaranteed to all the principal officers of state, and generals, or captains in the army, a proportionate share of influence in the city, a political preponderance in the councils of the nation, and a princely rank in the provinces. This was a fit time to regulate the terms of succession to the hereditary prince,* and it was not suffered to elapse unheeded. Had it been practicable

* Or the prince elective, for the Ashantees are not over scrupulous provided he is of the blood royal.

to have given stability to the wise regulations of Sai Apoko, it is generally believed by the Moslems, that the empire of Ashantee, at this day, would have held a rank proportionate to several of the most powerful monarchies inland; and instead of exhibiting that unstable force of tribes and nations (forty-seven, as they say, in number), whose interests are, in some instances, necessarily the reverse of that of the court, from the oppression they daily groan under, (owing mainly to the arbitrary influence of the chiefs), it would have exhibited an irresistible union between every tribe, and every principality of the empire; and it would have placed the nation upon such a respectable footing, that it might have given laws to Dahomy, Dagomba, and all the land westward. "But this wisdom," said my informer, (the Bashaw), "they are not gifted with; the eternal decree is sealed upon the hearts of infidels; therefore are they suffered to wander in ignorance, and perpetrate those horrid systems of slaughter that desolate the land, and steel the breasts of the few, who are spared, with hatred and revenge*." The truth of these sentiments is scarcely to be questioned. Powerful as the monarchy of Ashantee certainly is, collectively estimated, it may be considered as a fabric whose foundation is subject to periodical

* The prevalence of this opinion among the Moslems in general, coupled with my own observations upon the Negro character, almost warrant the assertion positively, that the latter from innate causes are incompetent to spread into a large consolidated monarchy, such as we see in Asia, the northern parts of Africa and Europe. Notwithstanding the ambition of Negro princes, stimulated by that of their captains, is certainly more conspicuous, and perhaps more volatile in the path of life, than sovereigns of the northern zone are accustomed to feel; the latter contenting themselves, for the most part, with preserving their estates inviolable from foreign encroachment, and their kingly prerogatives from innovations attempted by the subject; while the former, we see, impelled by an inordinate thirst after power and wealth, wherever they may be acquired, and at whatever expence; consult nothing upon the casualties of war; but eagerly stake their crowns, their lives, and what is religiously of greater importance to them, the insult their relics are subject to, upon the issue of a single battle. This contrary action of the passions incidental to man, and the propensities of our nature is, doubtless, affected, however remotely, by the operation of a moral law, which in countries where it prevails, serves the subject as a standard, by which he may lawfully weigh the actions of a prince, although he may not under all governments be permitted to pass judgment upon them *viva voce*.

decay, and therefore requires unremitting attention; or figuratively speaking, it may be assimilated to the coarser metals, which are brilliant only from continual friction; and to pursue the similitude, governments that are founded upon laws which the people, from record and tradition, are persuaded to be of divine institution, may be compared with those metals, precious in the estimation of the world, which preserve their own lustre unassisted by art: and although at intervals they may not flash so vividly upon the senses, yet exhibit an uniform refulgence derived from their incorrosive nature.

Ashantee, and perhaps Dahomy, deserve to be called *powers of our own creation.* But to reconcile the assertion with fact, it must be admitted, we are intitled to no other rank than that of indirect assistants. In using the name of his majesty, as I was compelled to do in the course of the negociations, the king (of Ashantee) would frequently exclaim; "The God of his fathers preserve him, and increase his glory upon earth;" and, during familiar conversations, he would say, "the good things I possess, I am indebted for to my Gods, and the benevolence of your king. My ancestors never knew white men personally; but they were equally sensible of the obligations they owed to the whites, who enriched them when they were poor, and fed the people by trade, while Ashantee was yet but an inconsiderable nation compared with its modern extent." "My great ancestor Sai Tooto," said the king to me, "a short time before I parted from him, would have served your king's great ancestors as faithfully as I will, (the illustrious son), if that intimate knowledge which your presence conveys to us had been decreed during his reign; for we all know the whites to be a people who serve the God of all gods and men."

The sovereign who succeeded to the throne of Sai Apoko, was named سي اكوسي Sai Akwasy. Several intestine commotions took place during his reign, in the provinces of Bouromy, Quahou, and Akim, whose Caboceers were instigated to take up arms by the intrigues of the court of Dahomy, whose monarch received them into pay, and promised to support them with an army for the restoration of

their original forms of government. Thus animated they took the field, pitching upon Quahou as the most eligible theatre of action, from its vicinity to the Volta at a point whence the promised succours were to arrive. Sai Akwasy, having come upon them rather suddenly, defeated the rebels with great slaughter, and took prisoners the cahoceers, or vice kings of Bouromy and Quahou; the other escaped for the time; but being shortly after beset by the king's troops, he blew himself up with gunpowder, together with many of his principal wives, children, and slaves, to avoid falling into the hands of his enemies *.

When the king discovered how matters stood with regard to Dahomy, he determined to revenge the injury he had sustained, by passing the Volta with his army contrary to the advice of his most able counsellors. This resolution having been adopted, he ravaged a great track of land of the king of Gouaso, who was a tributary of the Dahoman empire. On the second day, news was brought of the approach of the Dahoman army, and shortly after, one of the most sanguinary battles in the records and traditions of the country was fought by the two monarchs: night only put an end to the conflict. In the morning, Sai Akwasy was for renewing the engagement, but

* Suicide is very prevalent in the Negro states; but its complexion is materially different from the horrors so called in Europe. It is put into practice chiefly by men of rank, who are solicitous to preserve their remains from the brutal insults of their enemies; for which reason a retired thicket is usually selected, or they blow themselves to atoms, by confined powder; or procure a faithful slave, or their children, to destroy them, and inter their bodies in secret. Another description of suicide is when a man deprives himself of life in revenge against an opponent, while any matter where justice is concerned may be pending: in this case, the party is said to have killed himself upon the head of his oppressor, who seldom escapes the retaliation of the law without a pecuniary fine to the state, and other disbursements among the courtiers. The third class of suicide is totally different from either of the foregoing, from its connexion with the religious or superstitious belief of the people; as when the priests ordain that a sacrifice, voluntary or involuntary, is incumbent upon an individual, who may have incurred their displeasure, (the displeasure of the gods or fetische, as they term it,) or whose wealth may have fired their avarice. These victims of blind bigotry go singing and dancing into the grave, for when their doom is sealed, they habit themselves in their best attire, and adorn their persons with pieces of sacred gold, chaunting their own dirges, and dancing about for several days, previous to the appointed one of self sacrifice; or as it is usually called, making their own custom.

was arrested in his plan by the screeching of some ominous birds,* as it is said, and upon consulting the gods (Fetische) it was discovered they were not propitious to the undertaking. While a retreat was in agitation, the Dahomans, mistaking the inactivity of their enemies for want of resolution, came on to the charge with their accustomed impetuosity. The king, who did not think proper to abide a second contest, drew off his army as best he could, and fled rather than retreated to the Volta, re-crossing that river with precipitancy. But he had the mortification to witness the destruction of a great part of his army, who, for want of a sufficient number of canoes, were compelled to remain stationary until the next morning. Thus the Moslems describe the result of the campaign, although they are persuaded that the resources of Ashantee, in the present day, are adequate to crush the whole power of Dahomy to atoms, as the sovereign of that country might have known some time back, to his cost, were it not that the government of the former is apprehensive of giving umbrage to the Sultan of Dogho, who is the protector of Dahomy, which is a remote appendage of his crown, and which he considers, if not as a sea-port of his own dominions, at least, as a maritime state, depending upon his empire for its political rank among nations.

After the defeat of Sai Akwasy, as before related, the kingdom was filled with grief and mourning; the provinces were severally beaten up for victims to sacrifice in the capital, in expiation of offences done to the guardian gods, and to appease the shades of the great captains who fell in the war.† The streets of Coomassy,

* It is worthy of remark, that the Ashantees are as superstitiously affected by birds, as the Greeks and Romans were in former ages.

† The Ashantees are firmly persuaded, that the ghosts of the departed are suffered to revisit the earth, and brood over the actions of their families and kindred. If due oblations are made to these shades, it is imagined they will intercede with the deities to render the lives of their progeny happy

according to my informers, were drenched in human and animal gore during the whole of the great Adai custom, which is chiefly remarkable as it corresponds to part of the lunar month called by the Moslems Dhu'l'hajet ذو الحجة the 12th of their calendar, and the twelfth day of which is particularly set apart by their law for the great pilgrimage, when the victims (sheep, &c.) are sacrificed in the valley Mina, near to the city of Mecca, as expiatory offerings to the supreme Deity.

In proportion to the losses sustained by the court, so the policy of the government occasionally decrees the affliction of the provinces; for such a maxim is held efficacious, in order to check the imaginary rejoicing of foreign tribes, held in vassalage; or any real plot the opportunity might induce the tributaries to engender, with a view of emancipating themselves from the conqueror's yoke. Gold, and victims for the altars, are the *only* penalties enforced; the latter, it is true, however, are not, as might be supposed, indiscriminately chosen; they pass, indeed, under the name of delinquents, and are so far deserving that anathema, as having been convicted of speaking disrespectfully of the king, or of his government; of having harboured secret intentions inimical to the prosperity of the state; of having violated the civil laws; or of having invoked the wrath of their gods upon the heads of their oppressors;—a crime which, of course, passes for witchcraft and sorcery among the Ashantees; but which, in reality, is the same ceremony, and is performed with the same invocations or incantations, as they themselves practise, the conquerors' prerogative making the only distinction in the texture of the offence.

A war with Banna terminated the career of Sai Akwasy, for he there received a wound, of which, although he lingered some months,

and prosperous. Some imagine these spectres to be employed, as witnesses, over the actions of the living, and that every new moon they report their knowledge to the gods. Others believe as the Koran teaches, that the witnesses who are to bear evidence against the conduct of the wicked are the shadows of their own bodies while living.

he never after recovered. Sai Kodjoh, سي كدجوح the nephew of the former monarch, succeeded to the vacant throne, in the year 1166, A. H. 1752, A. D. On his elevation to that dignity, he dispatched messengers to the tributaries who had withheld payment of certain arrears while the war with Banna lasted. Some of these powers would not submit to the demand, alleging, as an excuse, that they had served in the wars under the former monarch, and his death had deprived them of their proportion of plunder. The king of Gaman first took up arms, and was imitated by the tribes of Dinkra, Wassa, and Tofal. This war, the Ashantees admit, was the most desperate they were ever involved in, and the empire stood at a crisis where occasionally the hazards fluctuated to the advantage of the enemy. Twice did the king carry his arms into Gaman, and was each time defeated with great slaughter, owing mainly to the weapons wherewith his enemies came armed to the field being of the same description as those of his own troops, namely, musquets,—besides an auxiliary force from Kong and Ghofan, consisting solely of cavalry. Each time the monarch returned penitential to the capital, and made new invocations and new sacrifices to the gods and his ancestors; being determined, as the Ashantees relate, since he found them to be still auspicious, to abide every risk rather than relinquish the enterprize.* The third invasion proved successful, and the king returned to his capital, bringing with the army a multitude of captives, of both sexes and all ages; the children were preserved to recruit the losses his armies had sustained; and the adults were either sacrificed or sold in the market of Mansue, upon the confines of Fantee, from whence they found their way to the West Indies. The province of Wassa fell shortly after under the avenging sword of the king, who let loose the fury of

* This is one of the wars religiously deplored by the Moslems, for they were in this instance compelled to fight in the ranks of the heathens, against their brethren in faith who espoused the interest of Gaman.

his troops upon its northern confines, and bereaved several large districts of their whole population. The most culpable among the insurgents were dragged to the altars of the capital, and two powerful tribes of that nation were subsequently removed to Bouromy and Quahou, either to supply a deficiency of the population of those parts, or to secure their future allegiance.

It is a prevailing maxim, I believe, with most negro princes, as it may be with other barbarous nations, to exterminate their enemies whenever the chance of war throws them in their power, rather than conciliate them as subjects, and reconcile them to the change they undergo. But I do not find that this maxim, which, under limitations, affected by circumstances, is the policy of the court of Ashantee at the present time, in proportion to the rancour and aversion of its enemies, was ever so rigidly enforced, (excepting in the primitive wars against the believers,) as in the reign of Kodjoh. A negro can hardly be persuaded that an enemy might be converted to a friend, and as he naturally thirsts after his gold, if he is so far successful, nothing can satiate him short of his opponent's blood, which is esteemed the portion of the spoil due to the tutelar gods (and acceptable to the shades of his ancestors) whose service it is incumbent on him not to neglect, lest their wrath should overwhelm him on a future day. The fault, according to the friendly Baba, " is in their nature:" whether the curse of God rests upon them or not, it becomes not me to enquire; but I think it highly probable that the absence of a system of moral feeling, inculcated by doctrines like those of the purest of religions, is mainly the cause why in Africa the passions of men are permitted to wander in the labyrinth of vile excesses we daily see committed with impunity.

The subjugation of Gaman at this time laid the Sarem country prostrate at the feet of the conqueror, who penetrated Shouy, Ghombati, and Ponin, in a sort of *friendly* way to receive the submission of the southern and western tribes, and invite the Caboceers to court. This is one of the chances, which, as the Moslems say, the fortune of Ashantee

presented for the utter conquest of Sarem, as far as *Mr. Bowdich's Kingdom of "Bahooree,"* i. e. the sea, in the neighbourhood of Cape Palmas. But this scope of ambition exceeded the aim or the judgment of the monarch, who was content to receive presents from the Kings and Caboceers of those nations who heretofore courted the alliance of Kong, the original mistress of Sarem and that part of Ghunja, whereon the metropolis of Ashantee is built.

After the return of Sai Kodjoh from Gaman, he was engaged in several wars of a domestic character in Banna, Akim, and Aquapim, but they were too trifling to be of any interest to the reader.

The Dahomy war seems to have been forgotten during the reign of Kodjoh; for, what is remarkable in the politics of the two courts, a friendly embassy arrived at the capital, with presents from Abomey, announcing the succession of a new sovereign. * This flattering deputation excited public rejoicings throughout the empire. Costly entertainments were given to the ambassadors; and, according to the etiquette of African courts, a splendid embassy was got up by Kodjoh, to express, as Bosman's translator says, "his obliging resentment" at the Dahoman capital. Sai Kodjoh did not long survive these civilities; he died, however, at a crisis rather unfortunate for the state; for as the infirmity of age crept upon him, he confined himself to the palace, and his enemies availed themselves of this opportunity, to circulate in the provinces a report of his death: there was no king in Coomassy, they

* Several messages of this formal complexion have been exchanged between the two courts; but this in particular, as the Moslems relate, was the second *embassy*,—the first being in the reign of Sai Tooto. They suppose, and perhaps justly, that the sultan of Dogho, disappointed of the Dahoman councils that conduced to the war on the Volta, in the late reign, and hearing continual reports of the growing power of Ashantee, was anxious to reconcile the wounded feelings of that court, from an apprehension that the government would not neglect the opportunity, at a period of tranquillity, for carrying the war into the Dahoman territory, where the result of victory or defeat might equally operate in checking his own influence upon the sea-coast, and at all events deprive him of a share of the revenue he annually derives from that maritime kingdom.

said.† This notice at any time is a charm sufficiently powerful to kindle the flames of war; accordingly, Assin, Akim, and Aquapim once more raised the standard of rebellion or defiance; and when Kodjoh, by invitation, enjoined them to keep the peace, and lay down their arms, they killed his messengers, threatening, out of derision, they would march to the capital, and seat one of their women slaves upon the throne, who should settle the turbulence of the chiefs, by proper chastisements. Preparations for war were then vigorously resorted to; but Kodjoh died while the army waited for the approaching dry season.

Sai Koamina, or Quamina, (سي كوامنين) mounted the throne, A.H. 1196, A.D. 1781. This prince made a vow never to enter the walls of his palace, or associate with his wives, until he obtained the heads of Akombrah and Afosoo, the two active leaders of the revolt. He joined the army without loss of time, and by diligent marches took the Akims by surprise. The head of the latter was the consequence of a partial engagement; and it is still a trophy in the *royal cabinet* of human relics, together with that of Akombrah, a Bouromy chief, who had joined the confederacy. There was no war with Banna during this reign, as Mr. Bowdich represents, (page 258;) and his story of the king's head being sewed up in the abdomen of a woman, but which was afterwards discovered, and placed on the king of Ashantee's great drum, has no foundation whatever, according to the testimony of Moslems and idolaters.

A congratulatory embassy arrived from Dahomy, another from Salgha, and a third from Yandy, shortly after the accession of this prince to the throne. These flattering testimonies of friendship, it

† During the recent war of Gaman, Kong, &c. against Ashantee, the Cape Coast people, because they wished it, gave out a similar report, aggravated by a circumstantial account of the manner in which they had been informed that the sovereign of Ashantee had fallen in a great battle, wherein the Ashantees were cut up to a man.

would seem, instead of stimulating his ambition, bereft that prince of the necessary energy to govern such a nation, and greatly conduced to his deposition, the origin of which was his attachment to the Moslems, and, as it is said, his inclination to establish the Korannic law for the civil code of the empire. Sai Koamina, according to the Bashaw, was a believer at heart; but the safety of his throne would not allow him to avow his sentiments. His name is handed to posterity as the most merciful of the race of kings. Towards the close of his reign, he prohibited many festivals at which it was usual to spill the blood of victims devoted to the customs; yet he could not be prevailed upon to relinquish the barbarous practice of watering the graves of his ancestors with human gore. These and other innovations were of a tendency to alarm the great captains; they feared, it is said, that the Moslem religion, which they well know levels all ranks and orders of men, and places them at the arbitrary discretion of the sovereign, might be introduced, whereby they would lose that ascendancy they now enjoy. To anticipate the calamity they dreaded, a conspiracy was entered into, and he was deposed.

Sai Apoko, the second of that name, was elevated to the throne of the deposed monarch A.H. 1212, A.D. 1797. This was one of the most promising princes the nation ever had. He was the brother of the deposed Koamina, who (in revenge it is supposed) occasioned his death, it is said, by sorcery, after a reign of two years*; during which the Bontokos (Gamans), once more broke out into rebellion at the instigation of Kong, threatening to march to the capital and restore the lawful prince to his ravished dignity. This war lasted upwards of fifteen months, during which the entire force of Kong and its allies joined with that of Gaman, crossed the Tando and gave battle to the Ashantees,

* Mr. Bowdich says a few weeks, but upon what authority is unknown to me, for the Ashantees contradict his statement.

near a large town called Barbanou, which is distant one watch from that river.

The force of the enemy, as the tradition goes, was above four times that commanded by the king. The princes and Caboceers of Banna, Juabin, Takima, and Coransah, took an active part against the invaders; and the Moslems, in despite of their prejudices, on one memorable, as on some inferior occasions, were compelled to join the ranks of the heathens against their brethren in faith. The Ashantees suffered some reverse of fortune during the first campaign; for the enemy's cavalry spread over the open plains of Massy, but could not penetrate that intricate mass of forest in which the capital stands. The Gamans fought hard and bravely upon the Tando, for notwithstanding the national antipathy that prevails against strangers, the Ashantees liberally bestow the titles of warlike and courageous upon this nation.

The king, it would seem, acted purely on the defensive, until the tributaries came up, he then gave battle to his enemies in the open plains, whom, after several days fighting, he defeated with prodigious slaughter, and returned to his capital laden with spoil and captives. Among the latter were upwards of five thousand Moslems, who were distributed among the provinces and in the capital. In no instance were these people subject to the penalty of death, as many of the

* The king, in conversing upon the topic of the Fantee tribes, invariably said, they were the most despicable people in his dominions, or that any of his ancestors ever triumphed over in their days. "I could forgive them for being insolent," said the monarch, on one occasion; "if they were capable of facing me in battle, like the Bontoko tribes; for then, however angry I might be, I should respect them as men, and when the war was over I should love them as I do other people: but the Fantees are like women, who quarrel with their tongues only; and if they are corrected, they shed tears to excite compassion." The Caboceers, the commonalty, and in short all sects and classes of people, entertained no other sentiments than those of the last degree of contempt for the Fantee nation; while no one withheld his tribute of admiration from the Bontokos. The tribes of Banna, Bouromy, Akim, and Quahou enjoy proportionate reputations for valour.

heathens were, neither were they sold into slavery. Some, according to their inclinations or capacity, were suffered to redeem themselves from captivity by paying a ransom; some were ransomed by the pious Moslems of their own country, or of Dagomba, and others were liberated at a subsequent period, when their sultan sent an embassy to Coomassy; many, however, to whom the king had been bountiful, chose to remain in Ghunjah, and they are now incorporated with the tribes of believers who inhabit Baboso, Western Sarem, and Banna*. The king did not survive his triumph many months; but died from a lingering illness.

The reigning sovereign, Sai Tooto Quamina, سَي تُوتُ كُوَامِينَ brother of the deceased monarch, was elevated to the throne A. H. 1215, A. D. 1800. Sai Quamina, for this is the name by which his subjects call him, gave a sample, in early life, of that spirit of enterprize which is so prominent a feature in his political career. "Thank the great God and the gods of my country," said the king, one day, "that I have been made acquainted with white people, for Ghunja will now become a place of knowledge, and my subjects will gain knowledge from the whites, who read in books what old people say. Hear this, captains!" said his majesty, addressing the conversation to Adusai, Apoko, Kankam, and some others in waiting, "what say you?"

* It is worthy of reflection, that the doctrine taught by Mohammed is, in leading matters of faith, congenial to the feeling, the prejudices, and passions, of most African tribes. The Ashantees without knowing the contents of the Koran, are equally persuaded that it is a volume of divine creation, and consequently that it contains ordinances and prohibitions, which are most congenial to the happiness of mankind in general. It may be that the Moslems sedulously inculcate a prejudice which operates so greatly to their own prosperity in heathen countries; for their lives and property are secure to them only in relation to the faith they profess. The African, however, laments his ignorance of the art of writing, with more ostentation than sincerity; for he boasts at the same time that his gods like to be served with vigor and activity in the field, rather than by prayer and actions such as we term moral; and which belong as a form of worship to the great God only, whom they regard as a Being more intimately attached to the whites than themselves, although not exclusively so, for they allow that the gods of Africa are his subordinate agents.

"'Tis true O king," replied Adusai, rising, "now what have you to fear? The great God of the Moslems, who is the same as the white men worship, is your guardian. He defends your dominions on the land side, where the believers live; and he protects you on the sea coast, for he gives you a great name in the land of white men, and turns their king's heart to do you good." "Yes," answered the sovereign, spreading out his hands and looking up towards heaven, as the Moslems do in prayer, "I am a thankful slave of the God of all gods and men—I am not ungrateful, I am not proud and ignorant, and therefore I know the great God has made me kill all my enemies, that the white king should tell me true things for my good, so my heart is open to him, and I will serve him as he shall desire."

This prince took the field (a few months after his elevation to the throne) against Ghofan, when, as the Moslems say, he was yet a beardless boy. Ghobagho shortly after united with his enemies, who drove the king of Banna, his ally, from his capital, which they razed to the ground, carrying off in their retreat a multitude of captives. But here their success terminated. The king advanced in time to prevent the same devastation in Coransah. The belligerent armies met at a short distance from the town of Kaka, where a fierce engagement ensued. The enemy retreated, and perhaps on that account the victory was claimed by the Ashantees. The king diligently pursued his adversaries as far as the desert, where they joined a body of reserve and again offered battle to the Ashantees. This action was decisive, for the enemy, defeated at all points, fled precipitately to the Volta, leaving, as it is said, 100,000 men upon the field, between killed and prisoners. Two tributary kings fell alive into the hands of the Ashantees, and one, the king of Ghofan, (a Moslem) breathed his last in the Ashantee camp, after witnessing the slaughter of all his defenders. Amon Koitea, who commanded an army, consisting of 50,000, men gained infinite honour by a charge which proved decisive in the fortune of the day. This

defeat lead to the occupation of a considerable territory, bordering the desert, which, heretofore, belonged by a sort of feudal, yet a limited title, to the Ashantee monarchy; although, in reality, its inhabitants enjoyed a state of comparative independence.

A war with Gaman, called for distinction, the first Bontoko war of his reign, again challenged the military genius of Sai Tooto Quamina. This, however, was no more than a partial revolt of the people, who availing themselves of an opportunity which they deemed favourable, transferred their allegiance from the reigning prince, a tool of the court of Coomassy, to the nephew of their late monarch, who had sought protection of the sultan of Ghofan, the prince who lost his life on the desert confines in the prosecution of his plan for subverting the government of Ashantee. These commotions were, however, quickly suppressed, and the vigour of the Ashantee councils (which, as the king says, never slumber) gained the nation a more exalted character than it, perhaps, ever enjoyed before. A profound peace of five years duration subsequently fixed that character abroad, and created a flattering belief in other powers, that at length the empire was controuled by more moderate principles. What greatly contributed to the national satisfaction, was the arrival of ambassadors at Coomassy from Abomey, Salgha, and Yandy, bearing honourable presents, and congratulatory messages to the young Sai, whose alliance was courted by all the powers of Ghunja and Dagomba. This calm, hitherto unprecedented in duration, might have lasted if the king's word may be taken for it, to the end of his reign; but for the secret passions of unjust men, who fanned the flame of war, and nurtured discord into open rebellion against his authority, by arming the people and exciting them to hostility against his person. Remonstrance served only to confirm their assurance and augment their audacity, for when he sent honourable tokens of his esteem to the chiefs, recommend-

ing them to keep the peace, they killed his messengers, and bade open defiance to his authority.*

The memory of Meredith, the author of an "Account of the Gold Coast of Africa," justly claims a tribute from my pen, for the candour with which he describes the progress of the Ashantee war in Fantee. As long as fidelity shall, in the public estimation, be superior to method and studied language, this little book with all its blemishes,† (for some indulgence may surely be extended to an author who, at his peril, speculated a little conscientiously upon tender points of the service he was engaged in,) will claim a proportionate rank with Bosman, the only other author I know of who has written honestly of that part of the world, as became a modest and an honorable historian.

The great movement of the Ashantees southward, as related to me by the king himself, and which was confirmed by the Moslems, who participated in the victories over the Fantees, and at Annamaboe, I shall briefly describe, without robbing Mr. Meredith of his own words.

Assin, at the accession of the reigning monarch, enjoyed profound tranquillity, under the government of three chiefs of that nation,

* This sketch of history relating to a period when Ashantee was scarcely known to us, even as an inland nation, was related by the Bashaw, Aboubecr, Kantoma, and some others. Its interest may be trifling with the public, for it is confessedly a plain narrative, designed to shew the progressive aggrandizement of the empire, and its influence over the Moslem powers.

† I shall consider an apology for excluding the last section of Meredith's book from sharing in the panegyric as unnecessary, for I am greatly of opinion that what passes under the title of "A short History of the African Company," was never written by that author. The political influence designed in that narrative sufficiently betrays the source from whence it emanated. Setting aside its ostensible object for appeasing the public mind, and reconciling the government to a continuance of ministerial or parliamentary favour, I believe it may rank in fidelity with other parts of that work.

Cheboo, Apoutai, and Amoo; the two former ruling over the western, the other over the eastern half of what once unitedly constituted a kingdom, which, after the conquest effected by Sai Apoko about the year of the Hejyra, 1146 or 1147, was torn thus asunder by the policy of that prince, to induce a tractable submission to the court of Coomassy. The great Sai Tooto, it is affirmed, forfeited his life in endeavouring to bring to pass what his successor could only accomplish by the massacre of thousands, and the expatriation of those tribes who were attached to the ancient monarchy.

The grave of a distinguished caboceer, a subject of Amoo, was pillaged of a quantity of gold by a near relation of Apoutai, who happened to be present at the obsequies. This marauder fled during the night, and was pursued by messengers, who, failing in their object, demanded satisfaction at the house of Cheboo. The policy of that chief inclining hostilely towards Amoo, the complainants were dismissed somewhat rudely, with a message purporting that it was a tale of Amoo's invention. The messengers next proceeded to Coomassy, where they opened the business to the king, who suspended judgment for several months, with the hope of effecting an amicable negotiation, and reconciling the chiefs; but being disappointed in his expectations he at last issued a decree, that the relations of the deceased should be reimbursed by Apoutai, to the amount of the property alledged to have been stolen. This chief happened to be at Coomassy when the palaver was discussed, and availing himself of a favourable opportunity, fled back to Assin, collecting his followers on the route. Amoo, instigated perhaps by the court of Ashantee, resorted to arms to enforce his claims; but after gaining one battle, was defeated in a second, and compelled to fall back upon the frontiers of his protector. Here, however, he took up a strong position, and defended himself vigorously until succoured by a reinforcement: thus strengthened, he once more took the field, transferring the war into the heart of his enemy's coun-

try, where he burned several large towns, and defeated his adversaries in a pitched battle. Moderation, as the king said, it was no longer incumbent upon him to observe, for he could not remain a passive spectator of violence that tended to the destruction of *his* people by their own hands; but as he was still averse from using coercion, he once more endeavoured to tranquillize the passions of the belligerents, and bring them to a sense of their *duty* to him, by sending to each party a present of gold.

This expedient was but temporarily efficacious; other battles were fought with alternate success; but Amoo had the prudence to subscribe to the king's authority, by again resuming his defensive position in the hills of Moisy, and between that town and Doompassy, where some partial skirmishing however took place, and in the interval messengers once more arrived at both camps with presents of a golden hilted sword, an axe, and a pike, plated with that metal, for each chieftain. The purport of the message to Amoo was an injunction to break up his camp, and leave the palaver as it stood, until the next Adai custom. That to Apoutai was a requisition to keep the peace, and not molest Amoo during his homeward march. But this chief, elated by his last victory, thought of nothing but how to destroy an enemy whose situation appeared to him hopeless, and who, in imagination, was already a captive; accordingly he dissembled his policy, and signified acquiescence to the authority of the king, by drawing off his troops. His opponent, confiding implicitly in the truce, descended unhesitatingly into the plains, where he was attacked so vigorously and so suddenly, that he could purchase his safety only by a speedy flight, at the expence of the greater part of his followers, who retreated as best they could, to the first Ashantee town. This aggravation was a prelude to the massacre of the king's messengers, and a number of Ashantees and Moslems who were in the camp. Some of these people were barbarously mutilated, and others suspended by the feet or arms to trees, upon the frontiers of the province.

The king, justly irritated, now determined to wreak his vengeance upon the authors and abettors of the injury; and accordingly he raised a powerful army, with which he entered the Assin territory. But Cheboo and Apoutai, terrified at last by the threatening calamity, fled together towards the Praa, after making an ineffectual attempt to cover the towns Ansah, Kikiwhary, &c. The first, called by way of distinction, the great chastisement, happened between Ansah and Kikiwhary, where, after a partial conflict, the chiefs and allies, (for some Fantees, as the king affirms, were among the prisoners) were compelled to fall back upon the Praa, and in the confusion attending a retrograde march, they were put entirely to the rout, by an impetuous charge of their pursuers, who chased their enemies to the opposite bank of the river. These events are recorded in many popular songs and traditions, according to which it would seem the Ashantees destroyed thirty thousand of their adversaries. The fugitive chiefs, however, escaped this time, and the Fantees received them with open arms, promising, that as their interests were linked in one chain, they would exert their whole power to protect them.

The king, anxious to gain possession of his enemies by a friendly overture to the Fantee chiefs, deputed messengers to Akoom, the caboceer of Assekomah, a Fantee province that preserved connexions and some shadow of allegiance to the sovereign of Ashantee, requiring that Cheboo and Apoutai might be given up to him. The present of the king on this occasion was twenty ounces of gold, an umbrella, and fifteen slaves. These articles were accepted, but the council of Abrah rejected the monarch's solicitation, neither would the Fantees, although repeatedly invited, send deputies to the royal camp, to assist in discussing the palaver, when the king proposed to settle the differences by a legal investigation, permitting the Fantees to have a voice in his own councils. Hereupon the Ashantee ultimatum contained a demand to march through Fantee in pursuit of the relic of the Assin army; and, as it was perhaps foreseen, the messengers were rewarded for their

temerity by a course of barbarous torture, and finally, their bodies were cut open, and stuffed with a preparation of salt and malaqueta pepper.

The king, gaining no intelligence of his messengers, ordered the army to advance under Ado Matta and Aby Dougah. These chieftains, with very little loss to themselves, defeated an united force of Assins and Fantees upon the frontiers, and the two distinguished fugitives were once more compelled to seek their safety in a precipitate retreat through the forest, where they sheltered themselves for some days, and to avoid being cut off fell back upon the main army which was then on its march from Abrah. Another rencounter happened not long after between the Ashantee advanced guard and the main body of Fantees, headed by Cheeboo, Apoutai, and many Braffoe chiefs, whose prowess in war was the characteristic of the dignity they enjoyed: but this engagement, like the other, terminated in the disgrace and ruin of the Fantees, who seem to have had no conduct whatever in the field, at least against a resolute enemy. The king arrived upon the ground in time to support the van of his army, and, by a judicious manœuvre, decided what little chance the Fantees might have enjoyed by a charge in flank, that cast his enemies into a panic, and left him undisputed master of the field. The rout was again general, some fled tumultuously towards Abrah, and others to the sea side, Cheboo himself setting the example.

In this stage of the war Apoutai made overtures of peace which savoured more of art than sincerity, promising to deliver up hostages for his future allegiance, upon condition that the king would take upon himself the payment of certain debts which had been contracted during the war, and swear by his great oath not to disinherit him hereafter of his stool. All this the king agreed to, and in token of a perfect reconciliation, again sent presents to Cheboo and Apoutai. The latter received thirty ounces of gold, some slaves, and a large quantity of provision for the subsistence of his followers. To the former was

delivered an equal quantity of gold, and a number of Fantee prisoners of war. But, unaccountable as it may seem to those who are unacquainted with the force of the passions in Africa, the king's messengers again experienced the fate of their predecessors, and the Braffoes, it is said, boasted of devouring their hearts in a state of palpitation.

The heads of these hapless men were struck off, and, in frolicsome aggravation, the carcases were suspended from the boughs of trees, and the mouths of the victims being stuffed full of excrement, the heads were placed in regular succession along the path where it was known the Ashantees would advance. After this act of brutality the Assins and Fantees thought proper to decamp to the southward, for still the chiefs were emboldened, by an opinion that the king would not choose to risk a campaign among the large towns, and particularly those seated under the guns of the British and Dutch forts. But in this speculation they were woefully deceived, for whatever might have been the early policy of the Ashantee councils, the late indignity practised upon the king, wound that monarch up to a pitch of phrenzy, and he vowed by his redoubted oath he would never sheath the sword nor return to his capital, without the heads of Cheboo and Apoutai. The war henceforth assumed the sternest features, even of African hostility. The utter extermination of the Fantees was contemplated, and orders were issued to spare neither the aged nor young children; but both sexes, and all ages were for a time doomed to expire by the sword and the musquet, or in the flames of their houses. The avidity with which the Ashantees thirsted, as they called it, after perjured blood, the mouldering ruins, the solitude, and desolate plantations of Fantee, but too plainly indicate at the present hour. Many of the inhabitants fled at an early stage of the conflict. Some chose to remain, in the presumptuous confidence of destroying, or witnessing the destruction of the king's army, and participating in the spoil; and others, including

the slaves, and those who may be termed fortune hunters, associated in marauding bands, plundering and murdering both friend and foe, indiscriminately. This feint of resolution was, however, but of short duration, for the king advanced rapidly, taking town after town, without encountering any serious obstacle,* until he approached Abrah and Emperou, although several skirmishing engagements and one or two severe but partial conflicts, happened on the route. The aggregate of the enemy's loss was incalculable, for literally none were left alive in the rear. Atia, the chief Caboceer of Abrah (the capital of Fantee), was a prisoner at head quarters, and every overture made for his ransom was rejected. The Braffoe tribe (like the Shorfa among the Moslems) was a particular object of the king's vengeance, and accordingly they suffered the severest effects of his power.

The few who escaped the destruction of the capital (for that fell to the conqueror after a battle, or rather slaughter, of the most sanguinary character) fled to Annamaboe, then the largest city upon this part of the coast. Thither also Cheboo and Apoutai fled, and the king, nothing relaxing from the rigour of his oath, pursued the retreating forces with one-half of his army, while the other was employed in razing the towns, and exterminating every living soul they met with; for none, by the monarch's own confession,

* From the observations I have made upon the genius of the two nations, there is nearly as much disproportion in force between the Ashantees and Fantees as between an organized European force and an undisciplined body of rioters. The Ashantees are trained to firing with celerity, as we ourselves use the musquet; their manœuvres are rapid, orderly, and uniform, and their other military tactics, which it would seem have been borrowed from those of Europe, are ably seconded by a propensity to war, and a natural bravery that is not excelled by any nation upon earth. The Fantees, on the contrary, display no skill in military evolutions, unless we should take into account the uncouth and disorderly antics they practise in the field; and for the use they make of the musquet, I am fully convinced their old weapons, bows and arrows, would be equally and perhaps more efficacious in defending their persons against the assaults of their enemies; for as if the recoil of the piece were capable of inflicting a wound, they sedulously hold the weapon at a distance, and discharge its contents at the elevation of a few feet from the ground, without taking aim.

were at that time received as prisoners, except a few Caboceers of the first rank, who were doomed to expiate their offences in the capital, that the people might also participate in the exultation of the army.

The military policy of an African government, is conspicuous in the cabinet maxim of Ashantee, during the war with Fantee. It may in some degree be assimilated to the modern tactics of recent introduction to Europe, by which the armies of France, under their late leader, pursued a direct object, however remote, with that celerity which frequently guaranteed its own success, and leaving half the war behind, terminated the campaign by a single blow at head quarters. The only material difference existed in those horrid butcheries practised by the Africans, who, (unprovided with that efficient force calculated to overawe the frontiers of an enemy, and check the population of towns, where every man by habit and education is trained to war) are instinctively taught to exterminate their enemies as a precaution necessary to their own safety, in victory or defeat. The African will rarely be persuaded to leave an enemy in the rear of his army. If he be a merciful invader, it is usual for him to put to death those, only, who may be captured in arms. The population of towns must, nevertheless, be translated to a spot of security, and sometimes their houses razed to the foundation, while the invader's aim is unremittingly rivetted upon the seat of government. By this policy, the subversion of a powerful state is frequently accomplished, by what is figuratively termed a handful of men; and the prisoners become hostages, and in some degree responsible for the aggravations that may follow.

In the Fantee war, the exasperated feelings of the king would not allow him to tread the path of mercy; hence the other alternative of sacrificing the population to his own security, was resorted to.

Acoom, the Caboceer before mentioned, who preserved some shadow of respect, or allegiance to the king, was taken into protection;

but by an act of treachery, in which he sold a thousand or twelve hundred Ashantees to the slave dealers upon the coast, he forfeited that favour, and was shortly after defeated by the royal forces, who compelled him to abandon to their fate the wreck of his little army.

The Ashantees, after destroying Abrah and Emperqu, moved to the coast, from which they were now distant a march only. Cheboo and Apoutai, not caring to trust their persons to the defence of the Annamaboes, again fled, in time to secure their retreat, with six or seven hundred followers, upon Cape Coast, where they had been invited to sojourn by the natives themselves, who introduced these unfortunate men to the acquaintance of governor Torrane; from whom they received *assurances of protection either by mediation or force of arms*. In the meantime the viceroy, or king of Dinkra, leading on the advanced guard, first gained sight of the sea in the neighbourhood of Cormantine, where he not only destroyed the town, but took possession of the Dutch fort. There the Annamaboes had hitherto vainly boasted that their enemies would never gain sight of the sea, and this success, as it seems, gave the governor the first uneasy impression,* for he instructed Mr. White, then governor of Annamaboe Fort, to send a message to the commander of that division, *requiring to know what could have induced the king to march his armies to the coast.* The king of Dinkra, as I was told at court, mistook

* The conduct of governor Torrane in not endeavouring to negotiate or mediate with the king on behalf of the people, before the destruction of Abrah, and the total extinction of the Braffoes, was certainly blameable; but after that event had occurred, to leave matters to the issue of another battle, where the people wanted both courage and conduct to defend themselves, was deserving of a high degree of censure; for indeed the promise of his support, inadequate as it was to effect the smallest impression beyond the reach of the cannon of the forts, alone encouraged that puerile and fatal obstinacy which led to the massacre of so many thousands of misguided victims, even under the walls of Annamaboe, a fort which, from the extraordinary disbursement its erection cost the British government, has been represented as the bulwark and the "*sine qud non*" of African fortifications.

the purport of the governor's message for a specious pretext to gain time, or obtain by policy what arms could never accomplish,—"chaffing," as it is called in the enlightened age in which we live,—and the chief's reply, that when the governor would send *him twenty barrels of powder and one hundred musquets*, he should be told what the king's designs were, savoured as strongly of the same tortuous system of perversion; for the Ashantees are not a shade behind ourselves in consulting that primary feeling in every man of honour, the preservation of the dignity conferred upon him by nature and rank.

It was in vain to shew the return messengers the destructive power of artillery, as that brave gentleman, Mr. White, humanely did, in hopes of averting the approaching tempest from the town. The whites were ignorant of the king's force, and as Mr. Meredith justly observes, "had but an imperfect idea of the bravery and intrepidity of the Ashantees; for it was supposed they were like the natives of the coast, who cannot stand against a regular fire: and often conceal themselves in holes during an engagement. It was little imagined that the courage of these people would carry them to the very muzzles of the cannon," &c.

The governor's message met with no attention at head quarters, and the king on a sudden made his appearance at the back of Annamaboe, whither the infatuated natives had drawn out their force to meet the invader. The usual skirmishing battle took place; the Fantees were driven in with great slaughter, and the enemy entered the town pell-mell in pursuit. The fort was already crowded with as many women as it would contain, and whole troops of the sex, beside children and aged men, took their station under the ramparts, where the guns afforded them a feeble protection, and that but momentary. I am justified in using the term feeble, for these unfortunate people, in defiance of the fire of the garrison, were every one carried off or

inhumanly butchered upon the spot,* and the fire became so hot as the Ashantees advanced towards the beach, that not a man, *white* or *black*, could stand at the embrasure, or shew his head above the ramparts:—neither was it practicable to work the great guns any more, without the certainty of being picked off by the enemy, who surrounded the fortification on every side, within the distance of half pistol shot. As to the Fantees, who fired without taking aim, they were already dead, or dispersed, and the enemy prowled in mixed groups among the ruins, some seeking for plunder, and others glutting their revenge by cutting and mutilating their victims, or severing the heads and legs from the bodies of the slain, and slicing the flesh and sinews from off the bones, in order to convert them to drum pegs and whistles; and the lower jaws and teeth, to ornamental trophies, and necklaces. In this state of consternation and distress, the utmost the little garrison could do, was to defend their gate, which the Ashantees endeavoured to force or fire. The governor, and two or three others, were disabled by wounds; two men were killed, and the remainder of the garrison sought refuge in the two little bastions on the west, that flank the approach to the gate; here they laid themselves prostrate, to avoid the enemy's shot and arrows, and from time to time repelled, with musquets only, the most intrepid of the assailants who attempted to force an entrance below.

The king assured me that it was no part of his plan to attack the castle, and even after the guns had been turned against him, he would willingly have negotiated, if any serious overtures had been made; and in this expectation he refrained, during the remainder of the day, from

* These are the words of Meredith:—"The Annamaboes conceived that with the aid of their canoes and their knowledge of swimming, they would be able to escape; but they were pursued too closely by the Ashantees, whose fury appeared insatiable; men, women and children were followed by indiscriminate destruction in defiance of the efforts of the garrison," &c.—p. 141.

carrying matters to extremity against the whites; whereas the castle he knew, was at his mercy, and had not the white flag been lowered the next morning, he would, by the help of his gods, have seated himself in the governor's chair. To pursue the confession, it would seem that dispositions had been made during the night, and the army had received orders to hold themselves in readiness for an assault on *the following day*, when orders came down from Cape Coast Castle to display a flag of truce. This emblem of peace, which was just in time to prevent an assault that foreboded the last calamity, was hailed with repeated acclamations, and the king gave every assurance that he was pacifically disposed. "My enemies," replied his majesty to the deputation who waited upon him, "are the Assins and Fantees; and I have now pretty well assuaged my anger against them."

Governor Torrane, in his public letter of the 18th June, 1807, *designed for the king's hearing*, palliated his conduct by saying, that notwithstanding the steps he had taken *to give protection* to the Fantees, he had ever held him (the king) in the highest respect, and that had he seen any messenger from him, antecedent to the attack on Annamaboe, it was his opinion the blow would have been avoided *in that quarter*.*

The king listened to every thing that was reported, with that cautious reserve belonging to the councils of his nation when roused to

* This affected recrimination (for surely no milder epithet could be bestowed upon it) was doubtless calculated to meet its object in England. Colonel, or Mr. Torrane, was confessedly a man of greater talents and education than any of his successors, or, for aught I know to the contrary, his predecessors; and it is evident he saw his political errors when it was too late to negotiate upon terms strictly suitable to the honour of his country and the dignity of the British flag. Admitting that this officer did not know that the united Fantee forces were incompetent to check the incursion of the enemy, will any man doubt that he did not know his own incapacity to do so; and since his policy, ostensibly or virtually, might incline to support the Fantees and protect them, did not the active part of the business, war, or negotiation, belong entirely to himself? Would it not,—since his judgment had failed or been outwitted, would it not have been more humane, more honourable to himself and his country, to have turned his guests (Cheboo and Apoutai) into the forest, to provide for their own security? Surely even the king in his heart would have applauded the act

hostility; but as his majesty required ocular demonstration of the sincerity of white men's professions, and as it was not convenient to that monarch to meet the governor at Cape Coast, it was politely insinuated that the latter should visit the camp at Annamaboe.

The ill-fated Princes of Assin had lived some time at Cape Coast, under the protection, as they had been given to understand, of the governor's negotiating talents, and the faith of the African company, pledged by their head servant. Their personal security was, however, but a transient delusion; for although the natives of Cape Coast at first resisted the overtures of the governor to give up their guests, they were finally prevailed upon, by the impending danger, to relinquish their defence, and the governor, unsolicited by the king, insinuated an armed force into their houses, and seized, not without resistance, the person of Cheboo, whom he consigned to the little mercy his enemies were in the habit of displaying. Apoutai, by the vigour of his defenders, made good a retreat, and once more shone in arms in distant warfare. But his coadjutor was sent as a present to the king, to serve for the basis of a treaty, and an introduction, to give the colouring of sincerity at the meditated interview: and this man, after suffering tortures and indignities the most exquisite, was compelled to resign his head as a trophy for the king's death horn, which is its decoration at this day.

This policy, cruel as it was, procured governor Torrane an honourable reception, when he subsequently waited upon the king in his camp at Annamaboe. The latter confessed to me that if he had been inclined to visit Cape Coast, his army would not have been restrained from following his steps, and as mercy had been solicited for those people, he did not wish to bring upon them any calamity their imprudence might give rise to.

The treaty of peace was a formal and a solemn acknowledgment on the part of the governor, that by right of conquest Fantee, including *Cape Coast and every other town in the neighbourhood, belonged exclu-*

sively to the empire of Ashantee; with the reservation of a judicial authority to the company over such towns as stood in the vicinity of any of the castles; and in confirmation or ratification of these terms, the governor expressly admitted the king's title to those deeds, called notes, upon which he paid him the arrears then due, and a tribute, called perhaps a present, which was demanded of the Cape Coast people.

The feelings of the monarch, by his own reiterated confessions, were overpowered by the *handsome* behaviour of this officer, when he sallied out to meet him.*

When the preliminary discussions took place, the king urged his right to dispose of the prisoners as he might think proper. All disputations proving ineffectual to move a conqueror's title, the terms of agreement were acceded to, by which, if the most credible witnesses are to be believed, some of the refugees who had availed themselves of the protection afforded by the fort, were consigned, together with a proportion of the relic of butchery, to slavery. A certain portion of the prey are said to have been accepted by the governor, for the purpose, it is to be hoped, of restoring them to their families, and not that he might pocket the emoluments arising from their sale into bondage; nevertheless, many or most of these wretched creatures, found their way eventually to the West India plantations, where they or their posterity may still drag on the chains of slavery.

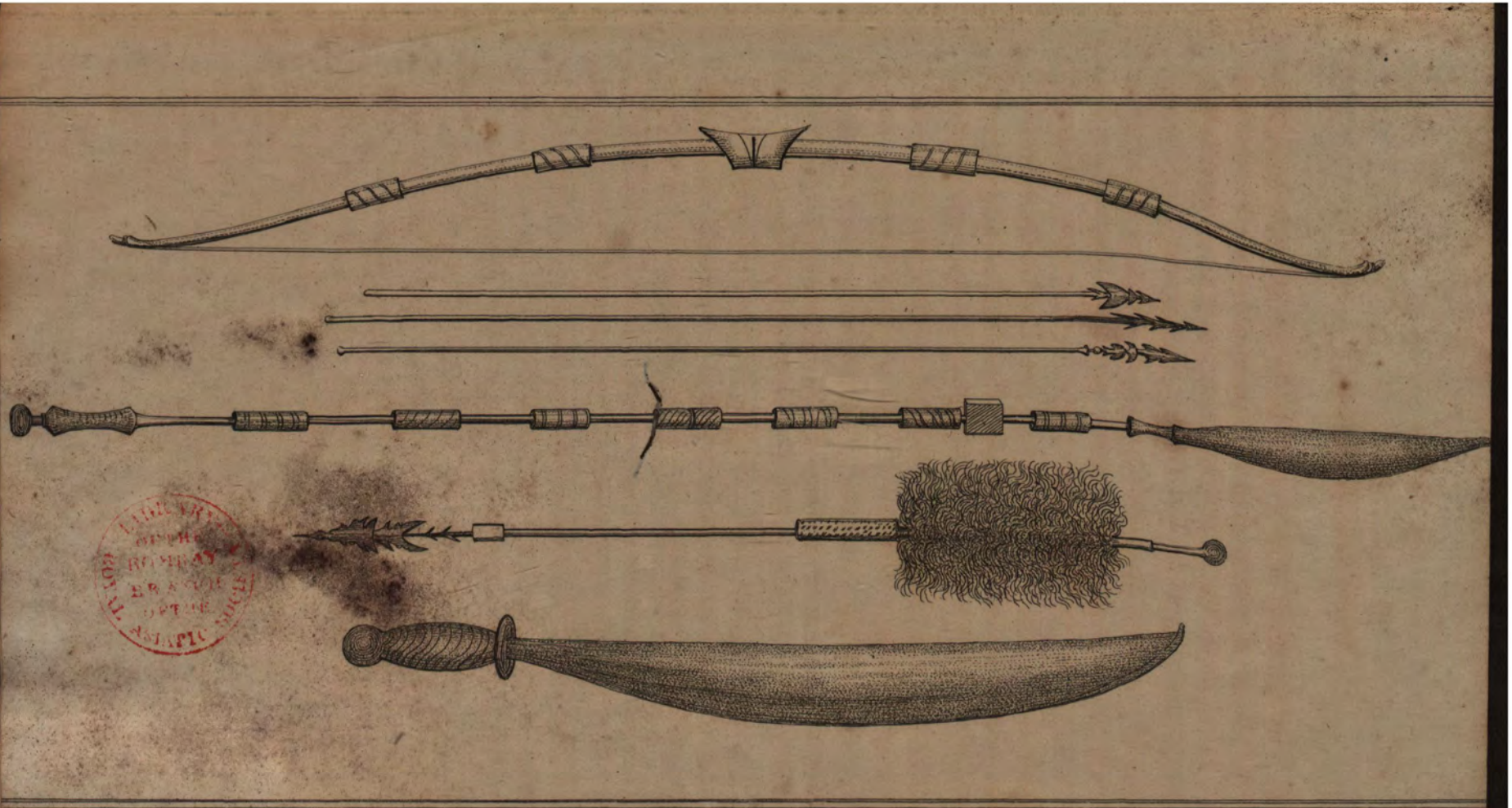
The last military act of the government of Ashantee, previous to my mission, was the invasion of Gaman in the year 1819, the

* From the hour governor Torrane delivered up Cheboo, said the king one day to me, I took the English for my friends, because I saw their object was trade only, and they did not care for the people. Torrane was a man of sense, and he pleased me much. He gave me these presents (shewing a trunk containing various articles of value). Mr. White was also a man of sense, and a brave man; but Mr. Smith, said the monarch, rising from his seat, is contem or contempo, (a weak vain boaster), I think he learned all he knows of the Fantees, as white men read books and learn better things.

defeat and death of its sovereign, and the annexation of that kingdom to Ashantee as a province, in lieu of the tributary rank it enjoyed before.

Torrane, whose name it delighted the king to hear, was a man like Daendals, who, if properly supported, would have created empire in Africa: of his moral qualifications, I may say in the words of Horace:—

——————— Omnisenim res,
Virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque, pulcris
Divitiis parent; quas qui contruxerit, ille
Clarus erit, fortis, justus—Sapiens ne? Etiam et rex,
Et quidquid volet.———————



J. Dupuis

Military Weapons of the Ashantees.

A MAP
OF
WANGARA
GULF
OF
GUINEA
BIGHT OF BENIN
A MAP
OF
SOUDAN
GULF OF GUINEA
SPAIN
ASIA MINOR
MEDITERRANEAN
SEA

PART II.

ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF WESTERN AFRICA.

CHAPTER VIII.

WANGARA.

CREDIBILITY OF INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM THE MOSLEMS OF GUINEA—CHARACTER OF THE RELIGION OF ISLAM—ANECDOTE OF THE KHALIFA OMAR—ANECDOTE OF MULAI SOLIMAN, EMPEROR OF MOROCCO—VINDICATION OF THE CHARACTER OF THE MOSLEMS OF ASHANTEE—THEIR CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE AUTHOR—REMARKS ON THE MISSION FROM CAPE COAST CASTLE, IN 1817—TRAVELS OF THE MOSLEMS—AUTHORITIES, AND EXPLANATION OF THE MAP OF WANGARA—REMARKS ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL STATEMENTS PUBLISHED BY MR. BOWDICH, RELATING TO THE COURSES OF THE NIGER—ON THE VARIOUS DISTANCES DENOMINATED A DAY'S JOURNEY—ENUMERATION OF ERRORS IN MR. BOWDICH'S SYSTEM OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF AFRICA—GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF ASHANTEE; ITS ROADS, PATHS, TOWNS, RIVERS, LAKES, &c.—WANGARA—COURSE OF THE NIGER—THE ASWADA—THE LOGOS—GREAT LAKE OF AYOH—RIVER OF BENIN—EMPIRE OF ZOGHO—YARRABA—RAPID CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF AFRICA—HAOUSSA—RELATIVE SITUATION OF THE MOSLEMS AND HEATHENS—PROTECTION NECESSARY FOR TRAVELLING IN THE INTERIOR—GREAT DIVISIONS OF WANGARA—ENKASY—GHOFAN—YANDY—ABOMEY—EASTERN DISTRICTS OF WANGARA—HORSES, WEAPONS, &c.—BENIN—GAMAN—ROCK GOLD AND GOLD DUST—MANUFACTURES IN GOLD—MOSLEM POPULATION IN ASHANTEE—CHARACTER OF THE FANTEES.

An enquiry into the credibility of information derived through the agency of Moslems, may perhaps be no uninteresting or unprofitable introduction to this chapter; for in weighing this subject with due attention, I conceive I have anticipated all that can be urged in opposition to the testimony of native African travellers; by which expression I mean Moslems;

for as to the heathen Negroes, I have reason to know that their fidelity as narrators or interpreters may be justly suspected. In fact, their intellectual faculties, like those of savages in general, although powerful in the emergencies of life, never stray from the usual routine of human pursuits to explore unprofitable mysteries; neither is it to be forgotten that a cautious scepticism is necessary, where the secret interests or affections of men are to be poised against the words to which their tongues may give utterance.

Although I do not submit my name to the reader, as guaranteeing the veracity of the Moslems to whom I am indebted for the substance of these remarks, yet I will take upon me to say, that I depend with as much reliance upon the information I obtained through their means, as I should on the testimony of any class of honourable men in Europe. And why not? Are there not many standing authorities of literary renown, whose writers were of that faith, and whose works are the rallying points in Oriental literature, quoted moreover by the most respectable in the classes of Christian authors of every nation? But as regards the Moslems of Ashantee and interior Africa, it may be urged, they are some degrees below the Arabs and northern Africans in the scale of civilization and intellectual acquirements. Admitting, upon the general average, that this is an undeniable truth, its effect is more than counterbalanced by the advantage these Guinea tribes evidently possess, in being more intimately acquainted with the land of their nativity, and the countries through which they are in constant habits of travelling, than the Arabs can possibly be. And these lands, be it remembered, are situated precisely in that part of the African continent which is most interesting to the geographical inquirer: for there the African maps of the most modern construction exhibit naught to the eye, save a dreary blank, here and there indeed broken upon by courses of rivers, positions of mountains, and names of kingdoms, like the paucity of islands scattered over the surface of its western ocean: but with this difference, that many of the characteristics inland are either vaguely marked down, or, what is even more to be lamented, their fidelity is in no very remote degree

associated with hypothetical criticism and unsubstantiated axioms, gleaned from the testimony of authors of a very early age, and who, in fact, never knew the central parts of this mysterious continent, excepting through the reports of its natives. Public curiosity, in short, finds nothing to feed upon that is satisfactory, beside the bare outlines of this vast surface, with the tracks of a few successful European explorers of our own times, among whom the name of Park is deservedly pre-eminent; and that pre-eminence is infinitely enhanced by a modesty of style almost unrivalled in modern literature of that description, forming a strong contrast to the unblushing pages of some authors, who vainly attempt to rival his fame by egotism and a redundancy of words.

Moslems, of whatever nation, provided they have been initiated in the doctrine they profess, are virtually men of knowledge, as they ought to be men of honour and probity; and the educated negro is with justice esteemed upon a par with other professors of the faith, whether from Cairo, Medina, or the sacred city itself. The Koran, wherein the prerogatives of all men concentrate as within a focus, was, morally speaking, conceived in the true spirit of benevolence, whereby every professor of that religion, however abject his condition in life may be, is strictly upon terms of equality with his neighbour, as the law instructs in civil and religious matters. This fascinating maxim, from which the balm of consolation oozed into the breasts of the afflicted idolaters of subordinate ranks, enticed a willing audience among the lowly and oppressed, such as most of the inferior tribes of Arabs were before the chapters were revealed, or the new law formally promulgated. Indeed, the Moslems themselves do not hesitate to admit a truth, which, in point of fact, may be traced through every page of the Koran, although lurking under the mask of religion; namely, that Mohammed raised the oppressed against their oppressors; or, in a political retrospect, planned a revolution in the morals of men, upon the prevailing principle of action whereby ordinary innovators are actuated—by winning to his interest those who laboured under real or imaginary grievances, and by their

agency sapping the edifice which prescribed limits to the several classes of society, and obedience where it was due. *

What I have already advanced on the subject of "Islamism," (for I consider it to be by no means irrelevant to explain its impression) may be still more essentially elucidated, so that the reader may be furnished with materials wherewith to establish an opinion of his own.

In the reign of Omar, the second Khalifa, about the Hejyran year twenty, (according to the historian ben Shohnah) an Arab prince named Jiabalah, chief of the Pagan tribe of Ghassanida, who wandered over the plains of Syria, professed a desire to renounce idolatry. With that intention he visited the court of Omar, to whom he did homage as his liege, and was initiated in the law. The Khalifa, feeling an interest in the voluntary sacrifice his guest had made, conceived a partiality for the prince, and took him with him on the pilgrimage to Mecca, with intention to instruct him in the rites and mysteries incumbent upon devotees. In running the tour of the temple conformably to custom, it happened that a pilgrim of ordinary rank took the prince by his sleeve and pulled him on one side, in order to pass himself, at which incivility Jiabalah was so enraged that he struck the intruder a violent blow; and, not satisfied with the vengeance he had taken, continued a strain of vehement abuse, in which he reproached the man with insolent conduct towards a person of his quality. Omar, noticing the immoderate anger of the prince, and that he reiterated menaces and ill usage against a man whom he had already punished and turned out of the ranks, said to him, "Calm your transports, otherwise I shall cause that man to return the blow you gave him, for you ought to know that Islam has rendered you both equal; and the prince and the slave, when in the exercise of their worship, or acts of piety, such as the functions of the pilgrimage, are but as men equal in all their prerogatives."

* As prejudices may have been excited against the negro professors of the Moslem faith, by a former publication on Ashantee, and as their testimony is appealed to in the following pages, the author claims indulgence for a few preliminary observations intended to rescue their characters from calumny and misrepresentation.

Jiabalah, stung to the quick by the words of the Khalifa, conceived so great a disgust, that he promptly gave up his newly adopted faith, and retired to Constantinople, where he became a Christian.

A circumstance which occurred during my residence at the court of Morocco, in the year 1811, is also illustrative of this point. The Sultan Mulai Soliman, conformably to his usual practice, visited the public mosque of Sidi Yousif on a certain Friday; but being a little after time, the area was crowded with worshippers to the very portico. It happened also, that the congregation were in the act of adoration, (in a prostrate posture,) and the Sultan could barely find room for the ceremony, by squeezing his body amidst a motley group who occupied the threshold; and that with great inconvenience; for his head, in lieu of touching the ground, repeatedly came in contact with the heels of a slave, who occupied the space before him. This man, finding himself molested, left off his devotion to enquire into the occasion of it, but instantly recognizing the features of the sovereign, he started upon his feet, and would have retired on one side, had he not been restrained by the forcible grasp with which the Sultan held his hayk, and again dragged him involuntarily into the posture he had quitted. When prayers were over, Mulai Soliman desired the attendance of the slave's master, whom he reprimanded for not inculcating into the mind of his vassal a true knowledge of the "law of God." To the slave he said, "Mark these words, which have a relation in common to the class you belong to:—on the throne, in the palace, in the city, or in the field, you shall know me for the sovereign commander of the faithful by day or night; but in the Mosque, or at devotions, you shall not know me as what I am, neither shall you know your own master, for before God the prince and the slave are equal, and must meet judgment according to their several actions, without distinction of rank."

Thus the religion of Islam, as it is properly styled, wherever it prevails, whether at the splendid courts of Constantinople, Delhi and Morocco, or in

the less ostentatious governments of interior Ethiopia, is uniform, as well in practice as in its influence upon the minds of men.

The Moslems of Ashantee, with whom I held communion, were for the most part men of strong natural parts; all were more or less acquainted with the doctrine of their prophet, and some, particularly the natives of Salgha, Yandi, Kook, Nikky, and other parts of the north and east, were men of education and talent, the majority equalling, perhaps, the average population of the states of Morocco: for even there the proportion may exceed ten to one against those who are capable of expressing their thoughts by written characters. The fidelity and pointed attention of these Guinea Moors, during my stay among them, biassed me with a conviction of their sincerity, and thereby established a mutual understanding and attachment; for when it was discovered that I was acquainted with the language of their religion, my apartments became the receptacle for all ranks of that faith, and figuratively speaking, I was an idol to whom the daily congratulations were paid with an exactitude and benignity not very unlike devotion.

This will seem strange to some of my readers who have perused the work of Mr. Bowdich, wherein it appears they treated him with a scowling inhospitable malignancy, arising from prejudices of a commercial nature. The truth is, no such feeling ever existed, as far as my information carried me at Coomassy; but I regret to say it is one of the many instances abounding in that work, of egotism and hyperbole, assuming the character of all the zeal and talent of the greatest hero that ever trod the African plains. But dismissing the evidence of my own conviction of facts coupled with the confessions of Moslems and idolators, it may be only requisite to pass judgment agreeably to the author's acknowledgments. These men who treated him so unworthily, were, as it appears in other pages, in habits of strict intimacy with the mission, whereby reciprocal acts of courtesy were exchanged, and mutual visits were paid. These men who wantonly insulted the dignity of his public character, from rival jealousy

of European influence in the commerce of the country, were his daily companions, and they were the identical parties who furnished him with such materials for his book as are really deserving of credit. Yet this cordiality, the author would have it appear, was the result of time and prudence. It were loss of time to pursue the inquiry further; but as the characters of men may in some degree gleam through their writings, I will yet trespass upon my reader's patience by inserting a few notes of correspondence that were occasionally written to me by these Moslems, and which are still in my keeping.

الحمد لله الذي جعل القلم لنا كلام متكلم وجعل قرطاس لنا رسول مرسلا بلد الي بلد
مكان الي مكان ذاك الحبيب اني عبدك يا سيدنا ومولاني &c صوم

"Praise be unto God who created the use of the pen for conversation, and who created paper that we may substitute letters for ambassadors, &c. This (an enclosed MSS.) shews you the route from country to country, and from place to place, written by your servant for his beloved friend, master, &c.

(Signed) "Shouma."

الحمد لله وحده هذا القلم اني يسمع اني جا اليك محبت والخير والكرمة والحب بالله
ورسوله سلم الي صني وسلم عليك يا سيدنا اي نتهن

"Glory is due to God alone. I comprehend what you have written. I hear your words and return my love, blessing, and gratitude; and may the love of God and his apostle in peace attend you. May peace dwell with you, (properly my lord), &c. From me, &c.

(Signed) "Abou Becr ben Touri."

الحمد لله وحده ثم الحمد لله جعل القلم لنا لسانا متكلم بين الحبيب والحبيب وبين
اخي واخوانه اشهدكم يا ملاكتي ربي اي مرني مسكن صاحب العباد كله وصاحب السعد انه
سعد في بطن امه انه شهد انه لا اله الا الله وان محمد رسول الله دليله من بركر الر بلدنا فد وصل
السعادته الي كل الحلابوبشهادة جماعة كله وصاحبه الملك اشنتي سي كومن يغول سي آدي
اسبي الله جعل الخير والرزم وسعد بينهماصح صاحبي اصحب المسلمون طول الله عمرك مع
الخير و السعد والدرجت مع الحب الله والحب الناس صح

"Glory be unto God in unity. Be his holy name glorified for the powers of speech, by which our tongues are made to converse with one loving friend and another, and between a brother and his brethren. So I bear witness to you, O ambassador of the great king, truly a benevolent friend of the blacks of every nation, and a friend to the felicity (of man) as happiness consists in fidelity, and therefore in sincerity I bear witness that there is no other God than one God, and that Mohammed is the Apostle of God. May this guide you in safety to your country, and may you enjoy ample felicity to the full extent of my friendship; as there is truth in this invocation, and that you are the friend of the king of Ashantee, Sai Quamina, &c. &c. God Almighty shower down upon them both (the king of England and the king of Ashantee) blessings and abundance, and may he unite their hearts, and cement the friendship between them permanently.

"My friend—friend of the Moslems, God prolong your life in the enjoyment of his bounty and benevolence, and may you return again to us with the love of God and the love of men in sincerity. Written by Mohammed, commonly called Baba, the Moslem Bashaw of Coomassy."

الحمل لله وحده ذالك مسكي اعطاه صاحبه وحبيبه فرطاس وفدوصل لنا ذالك جزاك

الله خيرا وطويل الله عمره وعظمة الله بعظمة كثيرا مع العافية البدن وصحت الجسام وحمده واشكره ويرجعك الله الي بلدك با لعافية والفدرصح *

Glory be to God in unity. Kind friend thou didst give some paper to thy loving friends, and the esteemed donation came to us in safety. May God multiply his rewards, (may he) prolong thy life and raise thy greatness to a high renown, with health and strength of body. Praise him therefore in gratitude, and God will carry you back to your country in vigour, for omnipotence belongs to him in truth.—From Abdallah ben Ghatta."

This might suffice to prove the truth of the attachment of these people personally, and to the interests of the mission, without going to further quotations, as it is also evidence of a refinement in courtesy. But it is due to candour and to the welfare of future travellers that I should circumstantially exonerate this friendly sect from ungrateful misrepresentation, by an open avowal that I found them disinterested in their proffers of friendship, liberal to an excess in courtesy, and staunch to their engagements, when their services, even from the hour I became acquainted with them, were called for. Devoid of Arabian or Turkish bigotry, they felt but a very remote interest in those anathemas of the Koran levelled against Christians and Jews as enemies of the faith: buried in the wilds of Ethiopia, they could listen passively to the recitations of early times, when the roar of battles raged in the north, and religious phrenzy desolated the Asiatic and African plains, without feeling moved otherwise than by a transient effusion of gratitude to the Almighty, for promulgating a law which taught them the heinous offence of idolatry; whilst the religious inveteracy of the Arabs against the name of Nazarene, or Roumi,

* These notes, and the Arabic manuscripts, I have submitted together, exactly as they are written, and without regard to the orthographical errors they contain. In the translations, however, which are according to our own reading and interpretation, I have judged proper, for the reader's convenience, to adhere to the idiom of our language, by substituting the implied sentiments of the authors, for a rigid and literal translation of words.

they considered something in the light of a national antipathy, with which locally they had nothing to do, and which it was not incumbent on them to imbibe themselves, or to instil into the minds of their children. In the practice of devotion they were constant and apparently sincere, although some of them violated the law of temperance, indulging by stealth in spirituous liquors and palm wine. When taxed with the crime, they would reply, "God pardon our offences, they are manifold; drinking strong drinks we know is a relic of the days of ignorance, but it is a custom of this country which we learn from our mothers."

The Moslems of Coomassy and Salgha are nearly as jetty-complexioned as the idolators themselves; but many from the inland countries are, more or less, as fair as the northernmost desert Arabs. As another instance of deviation from the institutions of the Koran, and of which they also give their mothers the credit, their faces and bodies are cut by prolongated incisions, the object of which is to distinguish their respective tribes or nations. The superstitious ceremonies of the Pagans they deplore with sympathy, and the diabolical custom of offering human victims for sacrifice they hold in just abhorrence; but still pity is mingled with their indignation.

The Moslems are the only class of subjects belonging to the kingdom, who are morally scrupulous in virtues such as we prize ourselves. This the king is sensible of, and hence the attachment he evinces for the professors of that faith, is at least politically sincere; but it must be confessed also, that that monarch is somewhat religiously inclined towards the followers of Mohammed from a reverential awe of the universal God, the Father, according to his imagination, of the creation, of every terrestrial deity, and of those invisible powers, whose benign or malign actions agitate the world, and inspire the hearts of men with good or evil propensities. Notwithstanding this sovereign chuses to adhere faithfully to his Pagan rites in all their manifold horrors and enormities, he does not neglect to supplicate the Moslems for their prayers, particularly when oppressed with anxiety, when the state council is convened on business of emergency, or when the national priests or necromancers

are unable to solve any problem to the satisfaction of majesty. The talismanic charms fabricated by the Moslems, it is well known, are esteemed efficacious, according to the various powers they are supposed to possess; and here is a source of great emolument, as the article is in public demand from the palace to the slave's hut; for every man (not by any means exempting the Moslems) wears them strung round the neck, either in cases of gold, silver, or the hairy hide of wild beasts, such as lions, tygers, monkeys, elephants, sloths, &c. Some are accounted efficacious for the cure of gun-shot wounds, others for the thrust or laceration of steel weapons, and the poisoned barbs of javelins, or arrows. Some, on the other hand, are esteemed to possess the virtue of rendering the wearer invulnerable in the field of battle, and hence are worn as a preservative against the casualties of war.' Besides this class of charms, they have other cabalistical scraps for averting the evils of natural life: these may also be subdivided into separate classes; some, for instance, are specific nostrums in certain diseases of the human frame, some for their prevention, and some are calculated either to ward off any impending stroke of fortune, or to raise the proprietor to wealth, happiness and distinction.

We are told, in Mr. Bowdich's work, that he received ill-treatment at Coomassy; a truth which cannot be denied; yet the Moslems had no share in it, directly or indirectly. On the contrary, it appears, by the general testimony, they advocated the cause of the white men, notwithstanding public opinion pronounced censure for the indecorous precipitancy of the party in their conduct to the king, whose orders, the author, according to his own confession, indignantly spurned at; and thereby entailed upon himself and his associates a chastisement humiliating to his personal feelings, and highly offensive to his dignity, as a public functionary. In reference to this insult, according to Mr. Bowdich's statement, the king would not allow him to depart from his capital on a certain Wednesday, but insisted that it should be the Monday following, in opposition to every remonstrance: Mr. Bowdich, who was equally inflexible, insisted upon the king's compliance, or on leaving Coomassy "without his approbation." The king said, he might break the law

if he thought proper, and the other retorted, with a slight qualification, "he would send for the treaty and tear it in pieces before him." The king, in disgust, no doubt, rose abruptly and retired. In effect, the project was carried into execution that very day; but the party had scarcely traversed fifty yards through the city, ere the "gong gongs were beat, and a crowd of swords and musquets attacked them (as the author expresses himself,) headed by the landlord Aboidwee, who, in the first rush, seized both luggage and flag." The author then narrates a circumstantial account of a *battle,* during which "his party were attacked with heavy swords and large stones," and this battle lasted near a quarter of an hour, although in the sequel it is admitted that the party did not even draw their swords in self-defence, or, what was even of primary consideration, in defence of the proud flag which had been consigned to their vigilance and discretion, when it was first ravished from their grasp. On the contrary, *the king* was applied to for rescue from the *murderous* weapons that flourished over their heads, and which besides wounding "several of the party, had well nigh cut short the thread of the narrative by an unmerciful blow with a scimiter, which, being promptly fended off, only grazed the author's face." This disaster, in the language of Mr. Bowdich, he considers to have "perfected the impression of his spirit." Waving this momentous consideration, may it not be enquired if such a train of rash proceedings, taking the author's own words for it, were calculated to perfect an impression of any thing more weighty? This, in substance, is what is described in pages 136, 137, &c., of that Mission to Ashantee; but which, as the affair was revealed to me by the king, by the caboceers, by the Moslems, and lastly, by several Fantees who were in the *engagement,* is materially inaccurate—I must say *falsely embellished* with incidents that never occurred. During my residence at court, the king particularly enquired if the king of England was angry at what had happened to Mr. Bowdich, when he attempted to go away without permission. He confessed that he gave orders to stop him, but not to ill use the white men; whereas "some of his people had beaten them" (flogged was the term) "with sticks, because they would not obey his last message to return until they discovered that he was serious. When they were brought back to their house

it made him very sorry for what had occurred; but he was sorry also the white captain should tell him before the caboceers, that he would go when he chose, for that was not the custom of the country, nor was it proper." The king's declaration accorded well with that of all ranks who witnessed the transaction, and of my own servant Coffee, who was in Mr. Bowdich's employ at the time. No crowds of musquets, or other fire arms, no swords, or other offensive weapons, save sticks, were resorted to during this *engagement of a quarter of an hour's durance,* and consequently none were either killed or wounded in the action; but all, all is a fabrication, if the testimony of above a hundred witnesses is to be credited before the bare assertion of an individual. What did really happen to the party was, however, sufficient to leave behind an indelible stain upon the capacity of Mr. Bowdich as a *plenipotentiary,* and privately, perhaps I am justified in saying, as a man of mature understanding. On the other hand, it would be silly to suppose that the author's intemperate language, or the misfortune that befel him, were at all adapted to raise the national reputation of Englishmen; for what he arrogantly refused the king in full court, he was ultimately induced to comply with in the midst of public and private insult.*

* Mr. Bowdich, it seems, must have been unaccountably deficient in a knowledge of the usages of courts, and the decorum to be observed towards a crowned head, although that head might be a black one, else how could he presume, in the face of the world, to avow having threatened the king with tearing to pieces a treaty of peace and commerce which had just been ratified and exchanged with a "respectable" native power, in the names of two sovereigns (of whom one claimed the tribute of his allegiance); not to enumerate the trading company he contrived to represent, and whose property in the country might have warranted the conciliatory steps that were taken for its security at that time.

Many instances, indeed, occurred, wherein the author's conduct involved him in disgraces; and well might the Cape Coast messengers declare before the king's ministers, "that his uncle (Mr. Smith) had sent them as a check upon him, and that he was not doing right in talking so to the king, but should wait his pleasure in quitting the capital," &c. (page 138). In truth, these unlettered children were better informed than their educated master, of what was due to royalty in any court in the universe; and Mr. Bowdich ought to have known, that even under republican forms of government, an envoy does not take what is vulgarly termed French leave, but waits for passports and a congé.

The Moslems who are to be found in Coomassy, are either natives born in the north-eastern districts, bordering the Volta river, or they are subjects of various inland kingdoms, whose residence in the capital is temporary only. The former class is the most numerous, if we include their slaves or proselytes, whose education is limited to an imperfect knowledge of the essential prayers and ceremonies of worship which they practice under the auspices of their masters, who devote a certain portion of each day to their education. The foreign Moslems, beside those of Salgha, Yandy, and other parts of Dagomba, and Ghunja, are from the inland districts bordering the Ghulby and Koara rivers, to instance the kingdoms and districts of Houssa, Killinga, Magho, Bargho, Marroa, &c.; and these men, who upon the average are better educated, are proportionably gifted with knowledge more extensive than their Guinea brethren possess. Hence it is that the arrival of a well educated man is announced by public rejoicing, and he is entitled to a degree of veneration in proportion to his talents. Natives of Cairo, of the great Desert, of Medina, and Mecca, sometimes (although rarely) visit the empire, as well as adjacent kingdoms; and the Tunisian and Tripolitan merchants occasionally penetrate as far. When any of these events happen, the epoch is commemorated by rejoicings at court also, and a suitable number of human victims are doomed to bleed in honour of the visitors. Even the imperial Sherfa tribe extend their travels as far as this remote district of heathen Africa; and, as the sea presents an obstacle to their progress southward, they pursue their rambles east and west to the neighbouring courts, as politics or commerce may invite their steps. These descendants of the prophet's family are received at Ashantee with hospitality unlimited in its scope; they become the honoured guests of king and ministers, while the population in bulk venerate them as demi-gods, and look for an increase of wealth in proportion as they compete in tendering respect and offers of service to their visitors: for no man is ignorant of the pretensions they set up on account of their sanctified genealogy, and their consanguinity to kings and emperors of the past and present day. Expiatory and propitiatory offerings of all descriptions are tendered to the

stranger's god, as well as to the national and tutelary deities; the poor commonly make oblations of the blood of fowls, eggs, pigeons, &c.; the superior classes of citizens, that of goats or sheep; and the court, that of slaves and prisoners of war; as was practised under the old Mexican emperors, who reserved these unhappy men for public sacrifice, on days dedicated to state ceremony, to religious festivals, rejoicings, or lamentations.

The degree of respect entertained for the Sherfa by the Guinea Moslems, is at least equivalent to the homage that is their due in the Barbary states. These princes, to whatever nation they may belong, enjoy a precedence over their brethren in faith on all ceremonious occasions; and this distinction is unreluctantly accorded even by the Bashaw of Coomassy. In the distribution of presents made by the king, and the great officers and captains, their share of gold and provisions is at least equivalent, and it most commonly exceeds the rest in quantity. There have been three of these princely visitors at Coomassy during the reign of Sai Quamina, and none ever came so far to the south and west before; a circumstance that induces the present sovereign of Ashantee to arrogate to himself a greater degree of glory than his ancestors ever enjoyed. The last of these princes was the Sheriffe Brahima who was at court during Mr. Bowdich's mission in 1817, but who, after a residence partly at Coomassy and partly at Abomey, the capital of Dahomy, during the space of nearly three years, quitted the former for Nikky, with an ample fortune, and in charge of a large caravan of pilgrims, who had entered into engagements with the Sheriffe for protection to Cairo.

The inhabitants of Morocco, Fez, Taffilet, Suse, or the deserts in their vicinity, rarely frequent this part of Guinea; nor have the Ashantees any direct open communication with the Niger between Ghou and Yamina, a space of nearly six hundred miles horizontal, although they sometimes visit those regions by circuitous routes, under the guidance of a friendly Moslem: the reason is that certain hostile kingdoms intervene both north and west of Ashantee.

The geography of Western Africa, as it is submitted in the Map, is carefully

compiled from a series of manuscripts,* and from information purely native, whose authors were in frequent habits of traversing the African Continent from south to north, (or vice versâ) from the forests of Ashantee to the several ports of the Ghulby and Niger eastward, as far as Bornou, and even Bagharmi, where, it is stated, the Shary forms a junction with the waters of the Shady in its course to the Egyptian Nile. Whatever may be the various sentiments of the learned in African literature, as regards the natural and political features of the internal parts of this continent, I take no part in the controversy, neither am I wedded to any theory, however presumptive or otherwise the evidence may appear. In this avowal, which embraces every hypothesis, it will be only requisite to repeat that the reader is naturally at liberty to establish his own reflections upon the materials before him, while the author of the treatise, whatever may be his sentiments individually, will simply claim the privilege of asserting, that it could not concern him either intimately or remotely, if it even should be shewn by possibility or demonstration, that the Niger, the Koara, the Ghulby, &c. pour their waters into the eastern or western ocean, into the northern African sea, (the Mediterranean) or into the swamps and lakes which have been supposed to exist between the equator and the tropic of Cancer, and to which the erroneous name of Wangara seems to have been given. Far be the thought, however, that might obtrude a shade of disrespect towards the conceptions and prejudices of the world of science; for many illustrious writers, and others whose talents are known only in private life, are perhaps in the full enjoyment of opinions founded upon hypothetical conclusions, and the assertions of travellers, which as far as philosophical reasoning should have influence, may possibly claim as much, or more public attention, than any isolated system whatever, relating to the great rivers of Africa.

Among the manuscripts furnished by the Moslems for illustrating the geography of interior Africa, is one whose features are descriptive of the kingdoms

* The manuscripts to which I refer are submitted in the Appendix, together with their translations, agreeably to my own reading and the knowledge I derived from the natives.

and districts bordering the courses of the Jolliba, Koara, Ghulby, Shary, Shady, and Nile, to the outlet of the last-mentioned river at Alexandria, on the Egyptian coast. It was written agreeably to a desire I expressed, that my informers should substantiate what they had verbally reported of the courses and names of the great inland waters. Some trifling passages are not quite intelligible; but as a point of greater consideration, it is not clear to me whether the authors intended to trace the Niger from Youry westerly to its source (in which case Bambouk is to be deemed the reservoir), or that it was principally designed to give information of the countries upon the parallel of the Koara, the Jolliba, &c. and between their fountains and those of the Gambia and Senegal. The manuscript, indeed, supports the former supposition, yet the latter, after all, would seem to be the most probable conclusion; for, according to Park, the countries of Foota, Toura, Foota Joulaba, or Jalo, and Bambook, are watered by the streams which compose these great western rivers, and consequently the Niger, in its course eastward, cannot in all human probability intersect so many rivers, whose inclinations are to the north. It is worthy of remark, however, that the Moslems should say its Bambara name, Jolliba, (pronounced Joulaba) is derived from the country Foota Joulaba at the extremity of a great range of mountains, which form a sort of chain stretching eastwards, nearly as far as Kong.

In reference to the Appendix to Mr. Bowdich's work, Nos. 1, 3, and 4, called "Courses of the Niger or Quolla, by Moors of Haoussa, Bornou, and Jennie" there is a great coincidence with the manuscript in question in leading features. If, however, the objection already started, that Bambouk cannot contain the source of the Niger, be substantially true, the evidence throws nothing in the scale; that of the Jennie Moor (No. 4) excepted, which it would seem is thus far corroborative of what the Kong and Manding Moslems report: viz., that the Jolliba rises behind their country westward, and between that and Melly, in a mountainous ridge that extends as far as the sea, called Bahar Ahmar, a name which may be interpreted either the Red River or the River of

Savages (and which I take to be the Gambia): without enumerating places of minor note, it passes on to Yamina*, from thence to Sago, Sansanding, Jennie, Timbuctoo, and Ghou, where the Jolliba ceases to bear that name. Ghou is the first kingdom westward upon the Koara; it flows then to the south-east, passing Kaby, and some other states, to Youry: according to the manuscript, it then runs through Boussa (for the author, besides its eastern channel, gives it a southern course through Wawa, Kaima, Khodobari, Khamba, Yarraba, and Ageasse) into the sea at Benin. The eastern channel, i. e. the Koara, continues to flow away in that direction, passing Noofee and Atagara to the Sharee, and the Chadee, from whence it enters Foor and Waddai, until it unites with the Nile. This manuscript, as it is published, I read over to many Moslems, and they all agreed that it was correct in substance, although not sufficiently explicit, because it did not name the southern branch, called by them the Ghulby Kanbaja, or Shadarba; neither did it state that it flowed into the salt sea of Benin, by the way of Wawa and Yarraba, the channel which Mr. Bowdich acknowledges to have expunged, because he imagined it to be a road instead of what it really was designed for, a river; hence he merely refers to it as such at manuscript No. 1, of the Houssa Moor.

In compiling the sketch of a chart at Coomassy, representing the geographical information I gained of the Moors, it was with some difficulty they were made to comprehend it; but this was eventually accomplished, with tolerable satisfaction to myself. Latitude and longitude it could not be supposed they knew any thing about, for had they been so qualified, that alone would have argued a pre-eminence over the Arabs and northern Africans, who

* It is said that Yamina received its name from a prince of the Ismaelian dynasty, who, by his ambassadors, prevailed upon one of the early sovereigns to abjure the Pagan rites, and embrace Islam; which being acceded to, and confirmed by oath, the Sheriffe, as an honourable epithet, bestowed upon the city the name of يمينا, (from امين, an oath,) implying it was a city sworn into confederation in defence of the Koran.

are alike ignorant in these essentials. Journeys of days, half days, and watches*, according to their own distribution of time, and according as the Arabs themselves compute the distance of one place from another, serve them in lieu of meridional lines and parts. The bearing and relative position of roads, rivers, kingdoms, &c. they described even with a degree of accuracy. Shareka and Moghareba, east and west, were terms not unknown to them, any more than those which express north and south. But their favourite expressions were the rising or setting Sun; the Sun on the right eye or on the left, and the Sun full on the cheek, implying the courses or bearing (relatively) E. and W.—those NE. or NW. and that which pointed due north. By the same characteristics they described the bearing, and by days' journies the distance of one inland kingdom from another, confirming all they advanced by the testimony of their travelling manuscripts, and the evidence of those amongst them who had visited the places they mentioned.

The allowance of sixteen British miles, three-fourths of the same to be made good on the horizontal distance, I think, from my own experience, is equivalent to a day's journey, where the country is intersected by forest or thicket; or where the surface is interrupted by hills and mountains. One-fourth reduction from the actual distance by the path, is certainly not over-rated in proportion to the capricious winding of roads, such as I travelled over; and I have been credibly assured that the southern roads exhibit, more or less, the same aspect, whilst those inclining southward of east, and northward of west, are moreover greatly impeded by hills, mountains, and ravines.

* These watches divide the twenty-four hours into nine parts. The first, at sun-set, is called المغرف, Mogharb; the second, العشا, Lâshâ; the third, الشفق, Shafak; the fourth, نسف الليل, Nosaf Leil, (midnight;) the fifth, الفجر, Al Figer, (day-break;) the sixth, السبح, Sabah, (sun-rise;) the seventh, الغدا, Al Ghadà; the eighth, الظهر, Dohor, (noon;) the ninth, العسر, Al Aser. Some, however, reckon no more than five watches, which are necessarily four hours forty-eight minutes apart. These are Mogharb, Nosaf Leil, Al Figer, Dohor, and Al Aser. This division of time denotes likewise the hours of prayer, when it is incumbent on true believers to assemble in the Mosques, or to congregate in devotional exercises in the field, or in the house.

The impervious forest and thicket, in which most of the capital towns of Ashantee are embosomed, breaks off in some places about fifty, and in others sixty miles north-east and west of the metropolis; the roads then become open, free, and not much inclined to those curvatures, which are unavoidable in the wilderness of Assin. Hence, from Akeyah, Quahou, Massy, and the Tando, I imagine that twenty miles, with four-fifths of that distance to make good for the horizontal distance, will not be over-rated, for those countries reputed to be champaign land. It should be recollected, that horses are common inland, throughout the eastern districts, as far north as the Koara, and that camels are not uncommon. In the north they are also plentiful; they abound, in short, wherever the country is adapted to their procreation and use, and the natives of those parts, as Mr. Bowdich had a fair opportunity of seeing during the Yam Custom, make use of those valuable animals in their caravans.

I have been in the practice of travelling in the same manner in the north of Africa. In the year 1814, I travelled, that is, rode, from Mogadore to Tangier, between which there is a difference of nearly five degrees of latitude, and about three of longitude, giving an horizontal distance some trifle short of three hundred and fifty miles, but which in reality was about four hundred and forty-five, for the road branched off inland, leaving the direct track, and upon gaining the higher latitudes, the surface was abrupt and hilly. This journey I performed in eighteen days, which would almost average twenty-four miles six furlongs each day. This is what would be termed regular easy travelling, in the countries of the Gharb, and every where north of the great Desert. The actual and the horizontal distance in this calculation are at variance ninety-five miles, which should be accounted for thus:—seventy-four miles to be reduced by a rate of five-sixths for the angular inclination of the roads, and twenty-one miles more for diagonal or indirect courses, a sweep that was made to avoid the plains of a rebellious tribe of Arabs. But even this is nothing compared with the rate at which couriers will travel on foot the same distance, as it is no uncommon thing for those hardy men to perform the journey to Tangier in eleven

days, nay, some few of them are able to accomplish the distance in ten. But these efforts are put in practice upon cases of emergency only, and when the express is desired to make his way by night as well as day. By the same rule the Morocco, Suse, Taffilet roads, &c. are traversed, and at the same rates. I have journeyed to the capital of this empire in all seasons of the year, and I invariably found that six days or twenty-five miles each day was the full average rate* without incurring the risk of fatiguing the cattle. These, which may be termed domestic journeys, apply exclusively to known places, the towns and cities of the same empire; whereas the routes leading to foreign parts, and from kingdom to kingdom, are not traversed so rapidly, whether they are mountainous or the reverse. In the temperate zone, twenty-four miles by the road is reckoned a full and complete journey in traversing remote districts, and twenty miles is estimated as the average; the former making good four-fifths of the actual distance, would give about nineteen miles one and a half furlong, and the latter exactly sixteen miles for the horizontal distance each day.

It has been shewn by an authority no less respectable than the Quarterly Review†, that "Mr. Bowdich seems determined to reconcile himself to every hypothesis that had ever been formed of the course and termination of the Niger. But the way in which he makes his Quolla to perambulate the whole of the African Continent, and literally to quarter it with its divergent branches, some flowing to the east, some to the west, some to the north, and others again to the south, is not only geographically absurd, but physically impossible." I must confess that I am at a loss to conceive what materials that gentleman could have found at Coomassy for the arrangement given to his map, in support of an hypothesis of the texture of which he has submitted no evidence. The Moslems of Coomassy, with all the elucidation I was capable of giving to the

* It is true I have travelled that space in four days, but I have no room to be vain of the feat, for a gentleman who is now in England accomplished the same distance in three days, and his horse, although greatly jaded, survived the fatigue.

† No. XLIV. March 1820, p. 292.

subject, with his book and map upon the table before us, were unable to comprehend not only the heterogeneous courses of the rivers, but the very names he has given to many places, and which, it does appear, have no existence whatever, except on paper.

It would, perhaps, be an act of injustice to that gentleman, to say I make no doubt that his system of African geography, which, as he assures us himself, was checked by the artless prattle of children, was a fabrication of his own: I do not say so; but this I will affirm, that the names of kingdoms, cities, rivers, mountains, &c. which might have been familiar to his hearing at Ashantee, were, as it seems, so transplanted and shoved about when he constructed his map, that, to use a hackneyed phrase, "'Tis now so like nothing, that there is nothing like it." Nay, it cannot be said to agree with those names of places which are heaped together in the appendix, many of which are really deserving of credit. The Gambaro running westerly out of the lake called Caudee to Timbuctoo; the Quolla going to the rising sun, and uniting to the Moondá, the Agobawai, the Zaire, or Congo, the Nile, &c.

I would not be thought hostile to any hypothesis, neither do I in the capacity of reader object to speculations, even such as Mr. Bowdich has indulged in, provided they are characterised by their proper names. But as my pen may have been as indignant at these incongruities as my feelings were at Coomassy, when the author's map was found to be useless, it is incumbent on me to point out some of the most palpable errors, and this I shall do as briefly as possible. Beginning then at the top of the map, I find a place called Yahoodee, a country or town of non-existence. Yahoodee simply implies Jews, the tribes of Jews, &c. which term the Moslems apply to those people of the Mosaic faith who inhabit the lower Atlas, and the district of Suse. They also apply the term Yahoodee to the Hebrew or Jewish tribes, whether native Africans or not, who inhabit Marroa, some parts of Fillany, and the neighbourhood of Timbuctoo. Of these people I imagine the author of the information spoke, when he endeavoured to make Mr. Bowdich comprehend the import of the word Yahoodee. As a nation or

a tribe they cannot be inserted with propriety in any map, for they exist even in a more deplorable state of servitude and humiliation in those districts than in the empire of Morocco.

Haoussa, which stands in the neighbourhood of his Yahoodee, he represents a city with two lakes, &c. giving it the latitude of nineteen degrees or thereabouts; but which should have been described as a mighty empire or district whose capital city is Kassina; and Youry, which he places on the lower river, is Quolla, a powerful kingdom connected with and dependent upon that metropolis, from which it is distant only fifteen good journies, east and west. His kingdoms of Barrabadi and Kallaghee, are totally unknown at Coomassy. His Gambaroo river has no existence whatever; but Gambaroo is a large city and district eastward of Kano, and on the south bank of the Koara. Katinna, the city placed between his kingdom called Kassina and his city of Haoussa, is equally unknown, unless intended to express the true Kassina, in which case it is placed as many hundred miles out of its position as the Haoussa city in relation to the latter, being considered the western limits of that district; but Haoussa and the tributary kingdoms are upon the Koara. The towns conducting from the Gambaro to Katinna, are entirely unknown by name, even to natives of Kassina or other parts of Haoussa. Of the names scattered between the rivers, and eastward of his Jolliba, some indeed are known, although the greater portion do not enjoy that advantage. Taking a peep over the Quolla from Noffee, there will be seen an extensive desert upon the chart; but which has no existence elsewhere, if the natives of Nooffee or Noufy, are to be credited, any more than those long harmonious names in the vicinity of Wawa, spelt Goodoobirree, Gillimakafoo, Garagooroogee, Paangee, &c. The same rule may be applied to many more such, and the small writing is commonly erroneous. Of his kingdoms south of the Koara, and between that river and the Aswada, (supposing the Roman letters to have that signification) it is to be lamented that some of them are not yet established; witness his Firrado, Doolooe, Fobee, Kaybee, and others. But in justice to the author it must be admitted, that in the midst of such extensive regions he has hit upon some, perhaps I

should have said, many places that really have existence, although in most cases it appears he has mistaken kingdoms and districts for towns and cities, and *vice versâ*. In short, there is little to be commended, besides the names of those provinces which now constitute the empire of Ashantee. Yet his river Laka, his river Mory, his river Kaarhalla, and that which he calls Coombo or Zamma, (unless Kambah) are alike unintelligible to natives of those parts. True it is, there is a town called Coombo; and his river called Mory, or, as it should be written, Mawry, is a kingdom upon the banks of the Ghulbi, a river which it seems he never heard of. Gooroma, which is marked as a kingdom, happens to be the capital city of one of the most puissant governments of interior Africa. Nay, he did not know that the Volta was called the Aswada; that there was a great city called Nikky, the metropolis of Killinga, distant from the Niger or Koara, and the vicinity of Youry, only thirteen days; that there was a lake in the dominions of Ashantee called Bouro; (although he will find it written and published in one of the manuscripts) or that there were provinces in the empire bearing the name of Akiyah, Ajorah, Yobati, Baboso, &c. All these inferences may be drawn from his map. Turning from this barren subject, to the little sketch called "Reported Courses of the Rivers," &c. affixed at the corner of the said map, I shall only remark, that his Oongoora, which is pronounced by the Moslems and Pagans broad and full, Wankara, nearly as we write it, should be removed from its elevated station, and be again inserted, in proper characters, in a latitude considerably lower than his lowest river, (of those running east and west) and above a thousand miles more to the westward of the longitude he has assigned it.*

It would, perhaps, have astonished the survivors of the mission of 1817, to be told, that their party had first the honour of exploring a region so famous in

* Since these sheets were written, accounts have been transmitted to England of the death of Mr. Bowdich upon the Gambia. As an author, it is for the public to determine how his untimely end may affect the world of African literature. As a private man, and a laudable adventurer in the pestilential climates of that continent, all men of feeling will deplore a loss that adds another name of some little distinction to the already inflated list of travellers, whose existence is now only to be found in the pages of history. I

record which has been so long searched after, and of which it has puzzled so many men of erudition, (transcending our own by far,) to form a solution agreeably to the writings of the ancients. Nevertheless it is an undoubted fact, authenticated by the testimony of every Moslem in Coomassy, that Wangara, or Wankara, is a mighty district (like what was called the province of Africa, where the city of Aphrodisium stood, and from which that of Mehedia also took its name) spreading over all that tract of land from Gaman inclusively, or the Manding States of Enkasy and Ghombati, in the west, to Khimbee, and Ajasee, in the east; and from N. to S. from Ghofan and Tonouma, down to the margin of the Atlantic ocean. But I shall submit, as I may find occasion, such other observations as I am warranted to do, from the unanimity and confidence which all my informers opposed against any argument of a character to destroy their testimony.

Whatever class my literary errors may belong to, or however unworthy I may be to obtrude upon the good sense of the public, I trust I shall not deserve the imputation of having knowingly misrepresented facts. The map of Wangara, will at least enjoy the merit of being free from*

too can mourn, because there are few to be found possessing as much zeal, enterprize, and literary talent as Mr. Bowdich was qualified with, notwithstanding the blunders I lay to his charge in the volume he wrote on Ashantee, or the revolting egotism and misrepresentation with which it abounds. While I disclaim the influence of prejudice in regard to this unfortunate gentleman, I am free to declare that I look to his publication only, the false colouring it has given to matters of importance, and the consequent false impression it is calculated to make on the understanding of the reader; and whether its author be living or not, I conceive my duty is the same. I will venture to assert, that had he been still in existence, it would have been impossible, by any effort of the pen, to have extricated his name, with satisfaction, from the obloquy associated with my charges. As he is dead, no degree of censure can affect him. Let him slumber, therefore, in a peaceful distant grave; but let me undeceive the world in matters connected with a public interest.

* When Mr. Bowdich arrived in England, Mr. Cock applied to me to translate his Arabic manuscripts. I took some pains in doing so, and those papers which came under my observation did not support the speculations he subsequently launched into, for they were in a limited degree supplementary, as his book was already written, with the reservation, perhaps, of his geographical section.

speculative or conjectural matter, excepting where such speculations are characterised as such (by dotted lines, &c.) Besides the corroborative testimony of the manuscript, the two maps stand supported by a mass of information gleaned from the Moslems of the interior parts. I have purposely revised my old maps and sketches, expunging from them a variety of reports which were unsubstantiated by writings in the native character, and which it was my original intention to publish connectedly, but with a specific mark, to distinguish those features which were corroborated by the Arabic, from others which were not so.

Every thing short of ocular demonstration, it cannot be denied, is defective; or at least liable to error. Latitude and longitude are unquestionably the criterions by which the mind may satisfy itself of the relative position of objects: yet where these essentials cannot be obtained in practice, others, founded upon authority, may be substituted with more or less pretension to accuracy; and information derived from these sources may even stand the test of public criticism. Liable as my own map may be to errors, I shall not deem it inconsistent at a future day, should my destiny again lead me to the shores of Africa, to expunge, with my own hand, the faults I may then discover, and publish to the world any misconceptions, however extensive they may appear. Such, I conceive, is a duty incumbent upon every man, who, by profession should, in a course of active service, enjoy local advantages whereby he may, from time to time, reap information calculated for the public ear.

The kingdom of Ashantee, from west to east, *i. e.* from Gaman to the Volta River, embraces about four degrees of longitude, including its recent acquirements in the west; and from south to north, *i. e.* from Cape Coast Castle to the tributary kingdom Ghofan, about four degrees of latitude. This is the full extent of what, politically, is modern Ashantee; for over this tract the king rules with unrivalled sway: every king, chief, viceroy, or caboceer, being his absolute and unconditional vassal, as tributaries or not, and most of them holding their governments by virtue of an appointment from the court.

The numerous kingdoms, or principalities, which in the days of Bosman flourished in the vicinity of the Gold Coast, have successively been engulphed in the vortex which has since spread under its modern name of Ashantee, into that great political association of kingdoms, that have fallen under the sword of the ruling dynasty, and are now only to be distinguished as provinces dependent on the court of Coomassy. This is to be understood as referring to what originally was called the kingdom of Dinkra, the mountains of Tofal, the kingdom of Wassau or Warsaw, that of Amanaha, Aowin, Showe, and Toosequa, on its western longitudinal meridian; those of Soko, Takima, Coransa, Massy, Assin, Fantee, and Ahanta, on the central meridian; and the districts of Ghofan, Baboso, Banna, Yobati, Ajorah, Bouromy, Akeyah, Aquahou, Akim, Aquapim, and Aquambo, in the east, bordering on the Volta.

There is a free and unobstructed communication with all the leading provinces, by roads or paths, which by way of distinction are collectively called great roads; and, separately, they bear the name of the sovereign in whose reign they were cut, or the country they lead to. These roads are eight in number; not nine as Mr. Bowdich was informed. The Aowin is the first, leading to the western coast, to Apollonia, Assinee, Bassam, and Lahou. The second is the Wassau road, leading through Dinkra to Wassau; from whence it again branches off, east and west, the former leading to the river Praa, which is crossed to El Mina, Commenda, Chamah, &c., and the latter striking through Ahanta, to Cape Three Points, and the European establishments in its vicinity. The third road is that leading through Assin and Fantee, to the village of Doonqua, where it forks off in two branches, the one to Annamaboe, and the other to the Dutch fort at Mouree; which is about four miles eastward of Cape Coast Castle. The fourth is a road, running south-east, and north-west; through Juabin, Yomoho, Akim, and part of Aquapim, to Accra, and the English, Dutch, and Danish settlements in that neighbourhood. These are the four great maritime causeways, from whence

the Ashantees derive all their supplies of powder, guns, and European merchandize.

The inland roads of Ashantee are, first, that leading from Coomassy, north-west, to the ferry of Ensoota or Ensotah, on the River Tando, and from thence branching off in two directions, the one to the northward, leading to Bontoko, and Houraboh; the residence of the late king of that country, (Enkasy, Kong, &c.); the other inclining more westerly, to Shouy, Soumah, and Sarem in the west. The second road leads through Takimah west, or Coransah and Banna east, to the River Aswada, and the mountains of Sarga, the eastern circuit of which leads on to Ghobagho, and the western to Enkasi, Kong, and Manding. The third is a road cut through Massy, Coransa, and Banna, easterly to the Aswada, below the Desert of Ghofan, where it again branches off northward to Ghobagho; and eastward to Tonoma, and the kingdoms of Dagomba. The fourth, and last great path, is the one leading to Akiyah; from whence it sprouts out in two branches, the one easterly to Bouromi and the Volta, the other inclining to the northward of the lake Bouro, through Ajorah, part of Yobati, and Baboso, to the Volta again, beyond which is Salgha. The two last roads are sometimes called the old roads, from their antiquity and pre-eminence. Besides these, since the recent subjugation of Gaman, the king employed a considerable body of troops in cutting a path more westerly through the forest, that would lead to the open plains on the Tando, and to Gaman, by a route reported to be shorter by two journies than the old one into which it is made to strike, at the distance of one watch from Coomassy.

The minor roads and paths are more numerous; the chief of them is one leading through the north-eastern provinces to a ferry called Goya, named after the chief town in Bouromy, south of the Bouro Water. Another of this class proceeds to Quahoe, from whence there is a cross road to Akim, Aquapim, Accra, Ningo, &c.; and another, branching easterly, to Aquambo and Dahomy; but it is reckoned extremely hazardous to enter that kingdom from

the side of Ashantee through Aquambo. There is another road leading from Coomassy to Sumah and Showy, in the west, over the Tando. Another also, taking through Akeyah, between the Banna road and the Volta, and leading to the eastern extremity of the Desert, from whence it is only two good journies to a considerable town of Ghunga, called Agaga. Several roads of a like importance, lead, more or less, to the east and west of south, with branches that fork to the principal towns on the sea coast, and to the forts or factories of the three European powers, there established; viz. one over the Aquapim Hills, to Ningo, Pram Pram, and the mouth of the Volta. Another through Akim, to Berracoe and Winnebah. A third breaks out at Tantum by a branch from the main track, leading to Annamaboe. Some other branches, besides, extend from Wassau through the Ahanta country, opening a communication with the windward settlements, from the Praa to the Ancober rivers. But all these roads are of comparative insignificance, and many of them are shut up, from time to time, by fallen timber, swamps, and barriers of matted vegetation, cemented together by uncommon rains, tornados, or the sudden rush of torrents from the hills. Neither are the main roads exempt from these casualties, for sometimes it occurs that the most frequented tracks are reported by the last traveller to have become impassable, in which case it is usual for the government to employ men to remove the obstructions, or to cut a new opening in the parts adjacent, as may be effected most expeditiously.

The principal towns, as well as most of the superior villages, are within the track of the high roads: yet there are others, of distinction, to which access is gained by traversing paths diverging from the main trunks.

Ashantee, from the latitude of 7° 30′ north, down to the water's edge, is a solid rampart of vegetation, extending east and west, from Aquapim to Ahanta, in the form of one compact forest, either (as it is found about fifteen miles inland) of the most stupendous character, or (as it may be seen in the vicinity of the coast) exhibiting an entanglement of lofty bush, blended with tall trees. The paths that intersect this forest are unavoidably the most capricious and serpentine. The labour of cutting them straight would indeed

be a severe tax upon the industry of the nation. But the government, for reasons of a political nature, connected with the recent aspect of some of the Fantee towns in the neighbourhood of Forts, does not yet think proper to remove the impediments of this natural barrier, between the sea coast and the capital of the empire. Hence the generality of them notwithstanding they are considered as main roads, are scarcely to be called footpaths.*

The roads or paths leading inland are infinitely superior to the others, and as the forest is cleared on the fourth or fifth day, and in some places, the third from leaving Coomassy, these tracks extend over vast plains where there is no great impediment to the traveller, unless the jungle may have become matted in certain spots. Gaman, Banna, and in short the greater part of Sarem, in the south, is almost universally champaign land, in some places variegated by clumps of trees and shrubbery, scattered in patches widely distant apart. Ghunja beyond the Volta, as also Dagomba, have also a similar aspect, although hilly, if not mountainous, in the vicinity of that river; and it has more woods than Sarem.

The seat of empire is environed by numerous large and small populous towns, the chief of which is Juabin†, bearing south-east from Coomassy, one day's journey. It is reckoned to be about one third the size of Coomassy, and its population is estimated at seventy thousand souls. Below the city is the lake Echouy, at a very inconsiderable distance, and in the neighbouring hills (for it is inclosed in a natural amphitheatre) are many small towns and villages,

* As it was the universal impression, that all public disputes ceased with the ratification of the treaty, I did not hesitate to urge the necessity of forming a broad open path down to our chief settlement, offering, as my instructions authorized me, the loan of tools for that purpose. The king, in reply, said, "I know the white king is a true friend now, and he can only tell you to ask me that for my good; but then he lives a long way off, and does not hear what insolent people the blacks are, when they think the white king is their friend, and will help them to fight. Now, as soon as my nephew comes back, I shall make a proper road, that the trade may go to the English." The Moslems subsequently corroborated this intention.

† Mr. Bowdich has erroneously spelt it Dwabin; the natives pronounce it as I have written, and the Moslems spell it جوابن, which is the same.

whose inhabitants, beside their usual occupations, derive extra emoluments from fishing, an operation which they perform with canoe and circular net, the same as is practised on the ocean. Many thousands of Fantees, Assins, and Gamans, are there detained prisoners of war. Of the two first nations some are considered free, although narrowly watched to prevent their escape to the sea side: the rest are absolute slaves, having been sold and transferred in due succession from hand to hand. From their superior capacity in aquatic employments, they are considered valuable property by their taskmasters. * In short, Echouy, or as it may be also called Bussem Echouy, and the territory thereabouts may be considered the Siberia of the Court: for it is also a place of banishment for inferior ranks of insurgents, whom the king may think proper to spare, or reserve for future punishment.

Eastward of the lake is a little district of Akim, called Yomoho, whose chief town is Adumpore. It has also a great population scattered about in little villages, whose inhabitants are agriculturists, and supply the markets of Juabin, Bequa, Sarasoo, Dompassy, &c. with corn and yams.

Beyond Yomoho, on the north-east, is the province of Quahou, formerly a little kingdom of itself. This is reckoned a very fruitful spot, and in many places the land is clear and open, even down to the Volta, where there is another valuable fishery that gives employment to many thousands of the natives of those parts.

The route from Coomassy to the lower part of Aquambo, Aquapim, &c. down to the mouth of the Aswada or Volta, lies over a very hilly country greatly intersected by water-courses, many of which incline easterly, and discharge themselves into the Volta; the banks of which river, on both sides, are occasionally infested by a banditti, who are sometimes daring enough to plunder the smaller crooms in its vicinity. The insurgents are mostly

* Two of these unhappy men, whom I had an opportunity of conversing with, assured me, that between Fantees and Assins together, their numbers now approached to twenty-five thousand, and that above four times that number had perished, either on the altars of the metropolis, or by famine, misery, and the cruelty of their masters.

Aquambo negroes, excited to rebellion against their conquerors the Ashantees, by other branches of the tribe who fled before the invading army, and have established themselves on the Dahoman shore; yet, in peaceable times, they are also considered the subjects of Ashantee. It is reckoned eighteen journies from Coomassy to the mouth of that river.

The route to Accra lies through Yomoho, Atoa, and Akim.* The surface for the most part is abrupt. The provinces of Akim and Aquapim are mountainous or hilly; yet many extensive tracts on the eastern frontier of Akim are entirely free from forest and thicket.

A medical gentleman of the name of Isert, in the service of his Danish majesty, made several excursive tours in Aquapim, and, as it is reported, would have travelled further inland had it been agreeable to the views of the Company. According to the traditions still preserved amongst the officers of Christiansburg castle, this traveller experienced much hospitality from the natives, and was greatly delighted with the beauteous novelties that opened to view as he advanced to the northward. After passing the chain of hills he found the land to be open, yet not entirely free from forest. The crooms on the line of path, unlike the Fantee roads, were numerous, populous, and imposing; and they scarcely averaged the distance of two miles apart.

The streams are very numerous throughout the Akim and Aquapim provinces; some of them, particularly after heavy rains, are impassable until the water subsides. The chief of the rivers crossed by the Akim path between Coomassy and the coast, are, first, the Dah, which rises at no great distance from Jamacasi, passing Juabin and falling into the Praa, two journies westward of the ford at Prassoo.

The second river of magnitude is the Praa, which is crossed between Anoka and Argosi on the fifth day. This river being a tutelar god is dignified

* Mr. Bowdich says, that on the route to Accra, the river Boosempra is crossed on the sixth day, by a tree laid over the stream; but this is contradicted by general testimony. A messenger who came to me from Accra travelled to the capital by this route, and he declared the breadth of the river to be great, adding, "That it was not always fordable, and that no such thing as a bridge existed there or elsewhere on that route." The Birrum river is about ten yards wide at Monosi.

with the name of Bussem, which may be interpreted sacred, awful, majestic, holy; * it rises in a mountain between Akeya and Quahou, near a little croom called Sumtasoo, and sacrifices are made at its spring head, which is said to be a large gaping rock about half way up the side of the mountain. Here the full vigour of the God is supposed to exist, yet the water does not always gush out with the same force.

The river Birrum is the third in rank on the Accra route; it rises near Sonara in Quahou, and falls into the Praa at a very short distance from Dansansoo.

The Corim, the Sagwa, and the Souho, are streams which rise in the Aquapim hills, and flowing eastward fall into the Aswada within forty miles of its mouth.

The river Saccoom, between Accra and Berracoe, has also its rise in the Aquapim mountains, and a branch of it is crossed at three journies from Accra.

Accra is scarcely one hundred and sixty miles horizontal distance from the capital, yet the surface is so rugged, and the paths so obstructed and circuitous, that the real extent of ground is near two hundred and forty miles, according to the time it employs the traveller in going that distance.

Akeyah, Bouromy, Ajorah, Yobati, and Coransah, are reckoned among the most populous provinces of the empire. The habits of the people are more commercial and enterprising, and their evil passions less predominant than those of the Ashantees. This may be, in some degree, attributed to the great influence of the Moslems in the above-named provinces, in Bouromi, and in Baboso, where likewise they sojourn in great numbers. † It is also to

† Bussem is the native word for Fetische.

* Notwithstanding the Moslems who inhabit the capital are necessarily induced to espouse the court politics in public life, they are secretly averse from coalescing with the army, for two simple reasons; the first is religion, which forbids that the lives and liberties of "true believers" should be sacrificed to the caprice, or in the avaricious wars of heathen monarchs; the second is an innate repugnance to contribute to the aggrandizement of a power that is already dreaded by the Moslems in general.

be observed, that these people, in conjunction with the inhabitants of Banna, were the vassals, in the middle of the last century, of the sovereigns of Salgha.

The road leading to Bouromy and the Volta, at Goyah and Odanty, is frequented by the traders who convey merchandize to the markets on the confines of Dahomy, for the supply of that empire. The distance to this ferry is reckoned twelve days good travelling. The path is passably smooth as far as the mountains of Akeyah, about sixty miles from Coomassy, yet the forest extends to their very basement. After gaining access to the opposite side, the path takes through extensive plains, where trees are only to be met with in detached spots, and sometimes none will be seen for many miles. The surface is covered with high grass and jungle, which the inhabitants fire, and employ the ashes to manure the plantations.

Elephants abound in Bouromy, Yobati, Baboso, and Banna; and hunting these animals is one of the chief occupations of the people. The natives of Yobati are reckoned so adroit at the sport, that they can furnish above a hundred loads of ivory, for Coomassy, in the space of a month, if required. It would seem that the elephant was an equivalent gift of Providence in the lieu of those veins of precious ore, which are to be met with in some districts southward, and westward, where these animals do not usually herd.

The Moselms are particularly numerous in Yobati, and in all the provinces to the east and west of north: they live in political societies governed by their respective princes, who are vassals to the king, but who enjoy prerogatives exceeding those of any other class of subjects.

The lake Bouro, a sheet of water of a greater extent than the Echouy lake, lies to the northward of Yobati, and in the season of rain is distant from the Volta one watch, or about three hours easy walk. The Echouy being situated in the land of the heathens, and close to the capital, is a place of greater renown. It is supposed hence to have obtained the title of Bussem, being called indiscriminately Echouy, or Bussem Echouy, the sacred lake.*

* There is, as Mr. Bowdich relates, a popular superstition that the Europeans will cut a water communication from the sea to the Echouy, the guardian God of the metropolis; but that the Moslems

Hypothetical as this may appear, it is in some degree corroborated by the reports of the Moslems, who affirm that the title of Bussem was conferred upon it by an ancestor of the reigning sovereign, in commemoration of a battle gained in its neighbourhood, over the Akims, when they attacked the royal army by land and water. During those wars the Echouy was considered the guardian of the capital against Akim, then the most powerful and warlike tribe of negroes in the neighbourhood. The water of Echouy, notwithstanding it is filled by the torrents, and by rain descending from the amphitheatre of hills, is sometimes brackish, and this happens particularly during the greatest heat, when the land has been droughty for any length of time. Yet I never heard Mr. Bowdich's assertion that the water gave a reddish hue to the colour of the hair confirmed by the most credulous native; on the contrary my enquiries extorted a smile, and a reply, that it was like other water, only "sometimes salt like the sea." In this property the Echouy differs from the Bouro, for the latter is perfectly fresh and pure, at all seasons. The Bouro is also deeper as well as larger, and is navigated by fishing canoes like the former. If the rains are excessive, it overflows its natural limits to the extent of many miles, and sometimes discharges its surplus of waters into the Aswada. A little river that rises in a mountain between Banna and the little desert of Ghofan, flows by a south-easterly course into the lake, and contributes, during the sun's greatest action, to supply the deficit occasioned by evaporation. This stream, as the lake rises, inundates and fertilizes the land periodically on both sides, and the natives plant their fields as soon as the water subsides. Fish of a large size, and of delicious flavours, are said to be taken in the lake, and conveyed alive to Salgha. Many thousands of families also gain a living on its shores by

nourish the legend, I cannot believe; although I do not say they may be unmoved by a rumour which would flatter their hopes of emancipation from the yoke of heathen vassalage, mild as it is in respect to them, and place them in a situation from whence they might draw the same mercantile resources, as do now the Ashantees, who, by means of powder and shot alone, support that great political influence. Absurd as the tradition certainly is, if the Moslems are at all affected by it, it can only be with a friendly anxiety for its completion.

drying the article, and selling it to traders who make it a profession to frequent the markets of Dagombah.

Between Bouromi and Akeyah, there is a small stream that has its source in the mountains of the latter district, and which in its course easterly to the Aswada, forms a continuation of swampy patches like the bogs which surround Coomassy on the south and east. To this land they give the name of Ghorekati غريقة a name synonymous with humid, watery, and deep.

The distance of Yagy from the capital by the above route will be about two hundred and fifteen miles.

The route to Daboya and the kingdom of Ghobagho takes northerly through the districts and provinces of Massy, or Akeya, Coransa, Banna, and the Desert. The principal towns are Jamakasi, Kikiwhari, Enaso, Sakado, Kikiwasi, Graga, Dankari, Measi, Batmali, Coransa, Boben, Kerahem, Kantano, Kaka Caranda, Dawa; then the desert of Ghofan, and the Aswada river.

The route to Salgha, the metropolis of Ghunja, takes through the provinces of Akeyah, Ajorah, Bouromi, Yobati, and Baboso: the towns are numerous, but those of note are Jamacasi, Antoa, Damoka, Akroforom, Manbon, Adijani, Amatini, Akokoa, Batoda, Atabaho, Yobati, Sakenim, Yagy, and Salgha.

The route to Kong and Manding, leading on to the great kingdom of Melly on the Jolliba, intersects the provinces and districts of Massy, Safoy, Takima, Ghombati, and Enkasy. Here, however, the policy of the natives (who from about nine degrees to twelve degrees of latitude in this direction, are principally Moslems) is directly inimical to that of the court of Ashantee, and consequently there is rarely any commercial intercourse with the southern Manding tribes, excepting the few who, after the defeat of Dinkera, submitted to the yoke of vassalage, under the government of Ashantee, and were permitted to enjoy their inheritances peaceably in Ghombaty, Sokoo, and the confines of Ghofan.

A few of these people I occasionally saw in Coomassy. They are fairer complexioned than any of the heathens of these parts, but less robust, and seemingly less vigorous. Yet the greatest resistance the Ashantees met with

Drawn by L.Dupuis.

C. Williams. Sc.

A Moslem of Kong in Military Costume.

during the campaign in Gaman, is admitted to have originated with the Mandings, who are the best cavalry troops, as they are also the best Elephant hunters in any part of Sarem.

Their warlike weapons are scimiters, bows and arrows, darts, and lances of the old Arab* construction, and whose blades, besides being of the length of sixteeen or eighteen inches, are sometimes barbed and envenomed the same as the arrows with a deadly sort of poison, said to be known only to the inhabitants, and differing materially from what is prepared in Ashantee or Banna.

The more easterly kingdoms of Wangara, above the parallel of eight degrees of latitude, contain a still greater proportion of Moslems than the western, as far at least to the eastward as the great lake of Ayoh. The Moslem powers north and north-west of Dahomy are, it is affirmed, when united, able to raise an army adequate to drive the Dahomans from the capital, and strike terror into the breasts of the surrounding nations, as they have done on former occasions. But the Sultan of Zogho, to whom the Dahomans are tributary, is adverse to these invasions, as long as they are faithful in their remittances to the Court.

The Natives of Entaa, Mahee, and Gouaso, over the Aswada, are mostly of a tawny brown complexion, alike in persons, language, and features; but differing in customs, inasmuch as the tribes of the two last named provinces, distinguish themselves by scarifying and puncturing various parts of the body, besides the face, which the Moslems practise in common.

The metropolis of Ashantee,† according to my reckonings, will be found

* One of these lances and some darts which I gave to the late Sir George Collier, were tolerably ingenious specimens of workmanship. The former was covered alternately with silk, pieces of red cloth, and tiger's skin, ornamented with tassels and amulets neatly cased: the handle was covered with the skin of a snake.

† The territory of Ashantee is particularly ill adapted to surveys upon any trigonometrical principles, or even the application of astronomical instruments. Choice of stations can never avail in the country; and accident alone must guide the footsteps of the traveller to a spot where he can obtain a partial

about nine geographical miles to the southward of the parallel of seven degrees of north latitude, and in two degrees sixteen minutes or nearly so of west longitude. It approaches in bearing nigher to the meridian of Elmina, than any other town on the line of coast, and when the path is open, the distance by that, which is called the Wassau path or route, is traversed in less time by one day, and as some say one day and two watches, than any other station on the sea coast, a proof of its westerly inclination in regard to the longitudinal meridian of Cape Coast Castle.

The military resources of Ashantee are great indeed, without casting into the scale her preponderating influence in Sarem and Dagomba. The Bashaw Mohammed assured me, that the armies of Ashantee that fought in Gaman amounted to upwards of eighty thousand men, (without including the camp attendants, such as women and boys) of whom at one time above seven thousand were Moslems, who fought under his orders. In this estimate I speak within bounds, for I am inclined to believe he alluded to the army of Banna as a distinct force, whose numbers varied from twenty to twenty-five thousand men, armed with tomahawks, lances, knives, javelins, and bows and arrows. Of the eighty thousand the King can put muskets and blunderbusses in the hands of from forty to fifty thousand. The opposing enemy, including the auxiliary Moslem and Heathen powers allied to the army of Dinkera, amounted at times to one hundred and forty thousand men, of whom a great proportion were cavalry. The issue of that war, which restored

glimpse of the firmament, of scope sufficient to enable him to make use of an artificial horizon: for where vegetation, such as I have described its character, does not grow, houses stand, the former being removed to give place to the latter in the stations of crooms, or in the land that may have been cleared for the reception of grain and yams.

A pocket sextant, a compass, a thermometer, and an horizon, were all the instruments I could procure at Cape Coast antecedently to the journey; for, on my application to the governor and council for the use of others (which, it is true, belonged to them privately) I was assured that none could be procured; or that there were none. To add to my misfortunes, the sextant was so much disorganized, that after repeated trials, I was compelled to lay it aside, and the thermometer got broken in Coomassy.

the sovereignty of Gaman to the king of Ashantee, must unquestionably have increased his military strength to the extent of twenty or thirty thousand more men, although it is true the relics of those tribes who submitted, or escaped the butcheries, were not considered worthy to be trusted with arms during my stay at Court.

The King of Dahomy and his auxiliaries, the bashaw says, can raise about* fifty thousand men, of whom from eight to ten thousand only are fusileers; the rest are armed with bows and arrows, besides sabres, and iron maces. This, he says, is the greatest force the Dahomans ever sent into the field.

The king of Benin is, however, by far the most powerful of the three monarchs, in regard to the number of his troops, for he can arm two hundred thousand upon an emergency, but he cannot furnish above ten thousand with muskets.

The dominions of the Ashantees, east of the Aswada, are considerable, but do not extend as far as has been represented. Yandy forms no part of the empire; but it is true that Ashantee influence carries great weight in the councils of the sovereign of Dagomba. Those which are deemed the north-east frontier towns are Coobeya, Yansala, Banko, and Toubary, in Tonouma and Entaa; the town last mentioned serving as a frontier on the Dahoman side; but in none of these places are Ashantee troops stationed, the people being left to the government of their caboceers, and the jurisdiction of their own laws. In fact, they seem to belong rather to the class of tributaries, than subjects; yet they are compelled, whether Moslems or heathens, to serve in the wars of

* The population of Dahomy, notwithstanding, is infinitely greater than that of Ashantee properly so called, with the provinces of Akim, Assin, Fantee, Dinkra, &c. included. It is greater in proportion to extent of territory, although the character of its wars, as described in Mr. Dalzel's history of that kingdom and the conquests of Ardrah, Whydah, and Popo, is precisely the same as in Ashantee. The most populous provinces and principalities of Ashantee lie to the northward of the seventh degree of latitude. That of Bouromy alone can raise 10,000 men, and Coransah, about half that force; Quaho six thousand, Amanaha, and Aowin (termed the kingdom of Apollonia,) three thousand; and the great provinces of Soko and Takima twenty thousand. These troops are to be considered independent of the actual armies of Ashantee, as also of the auxiliary forces of Banna, of Gaman of the upper provinces on the banks of the Aswada, and the alliances with the sultan of Yandy, or the tributaries eastward of that river.

the empire. Salgha, the chief city of these districts, whose station I have assigned 8°. 50'. latitude, and 0°. 25'. longitude east, is reported to be of twice the size of Coomassy, and its population, of whom nearly one sixth part are Moslems, to be about four hundred thousand souls. The Korannic law is that which governs the population not only of Tonouma, but also of Simmer, Ghofan, Ghomba, and the northern tribes of Entâa; and in most of these places the heathens are, notwithstanding their numerical superiority, either subservient to it, or they cheerfully comply with a judicial doctrine whose ministers they are from childhood taught to respect as apostles of the great God, and whose *fetische* is thought to be of greater power and efficacy than any ritual or magical incantation known among themselves.

The route to central Wangara, leading to the capital of Dahomy, the Moslems sometimes travel over, but the heathens never. This is a path which forks off in two branches from Quahou; the upper or northern one leading through the southern districts of Bouromy to Goyah and the ferry at Odanty, and the lower or southern one, through Aquambo to the ferry at Nagho, a capital town now subject to the dominion of Ashantee. The upper road, by a circuit round the Mahee hills, leads to the towns of Fosoko, Arico, Chaca, Gholamto, Meami, Atoy, and Abomey.

The land is supposed to be equal in fertility in these parts to that of Benin, which is universally allowed to be the richest and best cultivated in any part of Wangara; but the population is not by any means so great as the latter, for the tribes are constantly harassed by invasions of the Dahomans, who pursue the same barbarous maxims in their wars as the Ashantees themselves. The countries to the eastward of Dahomy, including Ghodau, Yagah, Khimbee, Ayoh, Ajasee, and Benin, are all heathen, or are governed by heathen monarchs, whose laws and religion have no relation to the Korannic institutions, but are in a proportionate degree the same as prevail generally among the heathens, although in a milder manner, from the more commercial and agricultural habits of many or most of the tribes in eastern Wangara. The people of these parts, however, in common with the Moslems, practice circumcision.

The current coin throughout these regions is cowries; not only do they circulate east of the Aswada, in Dahomy, and Dagomba, but also in the Ashantee provinces of Bouromy, Baboso, Yobaty, Quahou, Aquambo, and Inkran, where gold is not found; for the Gold Coast extends no farther east than Berracoo.

* Wangara, as I have already noticed, written ونقرا † and consequently pronounced nearly as we do, excepting that the g should be blended with the sound of guttural k, imitating the Arabian ق, is that great strip of land which comprehends the minor districts of Sarem, Ghunja, and the southern parts of Dagomba, with part of Yarraba in the south also. Its sweep along the line of coast embraces about six hundred and sixty geographic miles, i. e. from Cape Lahou, the boundary of Ashantee, and its Gaman province or kingdom on the west, to the parallel of longitude that marks the track of the Formoso or Callebar rivers, which, according to my authors, are its boundaries

* See those very interesting reports in the Quarterly Review of 1820, No. XLV. Art. "Course of the Niger," founded upon the intelligence obtained by the late Mr. Ritchie, a gentleman who sailed for Tripoli about the same time that I embarked for Guinea, and whose hopes, as he assured me in England, embraced not only the survey of the Niger westerly from Bornou, but also the prospect of joining me at Coomassy, on his anticipated route homeward by the way of Cape Coast.

Mohammed, a native of Timbuctoo, with whom Mr. Ritchie became acquainted, furnished him with the information his reports convey, substantiated, as he describes them to be, by the testimony of "Sidi Hamet Tooghar, the Cadi of Tripoli, who resided many years in the interior, and by Sidi Mahommed Dghies, late Prime Minister," &c.

Of Wangara, a place but vaguely known to the northern Moslems, it is a remarkable coincidence, that one of these reports should actually corroborate my own information on that point, as the following extract will shew:—"From Timbuctoo to Wangara is about *twenty-five days' journey*; the inhabitants bring *gold dust* to Timbuctoo." He (Mohammed) had not been there, but understood it to be in a *southerly* direction. Diffident as I may be in obtruding my own opinions on the world, or biassing the reader's judgment, I cannot in this instance refrain from stating my entire conviction of the identity of Ashantee, Gaman, &c. &c. with the true and only Wangara known to the nations of North Africa; wonderful as it may seem, that we should have actually colonized the country for many ages past, without ever having known it even by name.

† And by some ونكرا or, adopting the Persian ونگرا.

to the rising sun, (the east.) The navigation between Benin (and between all those great streams which intersect the Warree coast,) and the Koara and Ghulby rivers, is not, as my informers say, to be doubted; and it is possible to perform the voyage from Benin to Timbuctoo and Sago without setting foot on shore, although it is not usual to navigate against the streams of those great waters, the Kadarko, the Shawanka, the Ghulby, the Koara, Shady or Jolliba, particularly in the rainy season, when the rivers are full; for although they know of no rapids or cataracts to the south of Wawa, yet the natural velocity of the streams is so great as to impede the canoes in a northerly progress, although impelled forward by the strength of fifty men and more. Two of my informers declared, they had performed the voyage from north to south, under protection of the sultan of Youry, as far as the gates of Benin.

Returning to Wangara, the first individual to whom I applied for information, was the very Bashaw Mohammed known to Mr. Bowdich by the name of Baba (*father*). Wangara was a subject of interest in our earliest conversations. Of this man I begged to know where that celebrated country, its lakes, its rivers, and its swamps existed. The reply was, "Wangara is a large place; it is not a kingdom, neither is it a city; but it contains many kingdoms and many cities: the ground you tread upon is Wangara." At this explanation I betrayed a mixture of surprise and incredulity. "Can you doubt what I tell you?" replied the chief; "if you do, enquire of our people whether I do not speak what is true." Shouma, Abou Becr, Cantoma, Mohammed bel Cassim, and some others who were present, confirmed the assertion, (as did the king himself, on a day of subsequent enquiry if he knew Wangara,) in terms the most positive and convincing.* Wangara was naturally an object that claimed a leading interest, from its having been the great focus of speculation among the learned in Europe. Rivers it has many; for the eastern confines are exceedingly low; but swamps (except little incidental ones, such as occur

* لا ريب فيه وان الله علم "There is no doubt about it," was the expression used by the Moslems, "and God knows it is true."

on the Ashantee path) it has none, besides what may be found on the great tropical Delta, (Warree) during the season of rain, when in truth the whole eastern country, as far as the Callebar river, or the Rio del Rey, is more or less swampy, and may in many places be navigated over in canoes, through the heart of the lower forest regions, where the trees are at this time to be seen growing as in the bed of a lake.

In the course of many subsequent meetings, although my enquiries were reiterated where doubt and conviction were still somewhat at variance, the replies were uniform:—"This is Wangara, and we believe there is no other country of that name on our side of the great deserts; but if there is, we never heard mention of it, and therefore it must be a very small place." "Where are the great rivers talked of in the Gharb, (in Ismaëlia) and which the Arabs say run to Wangara?" "The rivers of Wangara are numerous; they are such as we have already described, running into the great salt sea of Benin, and from whence you came (Cape Coast.) The greatest river of Wangara runs south behind Dahomy, direct to Warree, and is fifteen long journies to the east of Abomey." "Is not this the Koara you speak of?" "No; the Koara is another very great sea;* it runs to Noufy, where it takes three days to cross the water; from Noufy, the water runs by two or three channels into the Lake of Shady, and the sea or river so called, passing Bousa, Souy, Kassina, Yakoo, Kano, and Gambaro, in its course easterly, below Bornou, to the Bahar Neel (Nile) of Egypt. The Ghulby, after a long eastern course, inclining to the north, runs into it at Noufy, and the great Benin river turns from it to the south, cutting from the direction of Wawa, through Kaima, Khodobari, Agiassy, and Benin. They are all great seas, but the Koara is the greatest in the universe." "Is the great river of Benin

* The Guinea Moslems, in speaking of rivers, invariably called them seas; بحر was their characteristic name of running water, salt or fresh, to which they subjoin large or small. The terms Wad, Wadai, or Wadan, properly signifying river, which the Arabs and Northern Africans commonly use, were not in use among the Wangara Moslems.

the Ghulby that flows from Ghoroma in the kingdom of Magho?" It is not that sea itself, but it is connected with its waters through the lake Noufy.

This conversation is extracted from a diary, which it was my practice to keep. On a subject which I deemed of importance, I have preferred inserting the arguments verbatim, devoid of all embellishments of the pen, or any bias which a change of language or my own conceptions might suggest.

I have, in an earlier page, ventured a somewhat anomalous comparison of Wangara with that district of the north, known by the name of Africa to Greece and Rome. But, perhaps, it might be more correctly compared with that vague appellation *Guinea*, by which we describe the country itself. The discovery of the true position of this district, assuming the fact upon the grounds I have stated, would, I am aware, incline to a revolution in the theory of the Niger itself; but as it is no part of my plan to speculate or infringe upon the prerogatives of the reader, I shall abstain from any hypothetical conclusions of this nature.

Concerning the course of the Niger itself—the Jolliba of Park, called by the Arabs, Bahar Neel, Bahar Abied, Bahar Soudan, &c. and by the Wangara Moslems, Bahar Koara, I never heard of two different opinions in regard to its termination. South or north of the Great Desert, in Wangara or Mauritania, the sentiments were the same, that the great flow of waters is easterly to the Egyptian Nile. Yet it must be confessed, that none of my instructors had ever tracked its course beyond the western limits of Bornou. It was an orthodox opinion, that the Shady, as well as the Koara, united its waters with innumerable other large and small rivers (like the Amazon) which contributed to replenish its channel in the dry season, when it usually tracks its course mildly; and in the season of rain when it runs in tempestuous eddies, sweeping off in its current whole islands of matted vegetation.

The great rivers of Wangara, besides such as exclusively belong to Ashantee, are, first the Aswada, or Volta, called by the heathens Adirray. This river rises in a cluster of hills or mountains called Sarga, bearing north

from Coomassy, behind the desert of Ghofan, and distant seventeen journies, or about two hundred and seventy-two miles horizontal. Its course through the desert inclines greatly to the eastward of south, until it passes Yajy, where its general inclination is southerly, till it discharges itself near Cape St. Paul, and where it is known to navigators by the name of the Volta. In its course it laves the provinces of Baboso, passing Salgha, Yobati, Bouromy, Quahou, Aquambo, and Adampy. In Ghofan it is a narrow stream, not much above ancle deep; but, on the parallel of a town in Tounouma, called Dafoo, it is broader, and becomes navigable from its junction with another small river, called Bahar Bourgan. In the neighbourhood of Salgha it is a great river, as wide according to the testimony of my informers, as from the quarters I occupied to the palace gate, a distance about equal to the dimensions of the Thames at Battersea. The lake Bouro, south of the town of Yajy, does not always overflow its embankments to a great extent, but only when the rains are heavier than usual. It then runs by a channel into the Aswáda. This inclination of the water of the lake, is propelled by a stream which rises on the confines of Ghofan, as it has been stated, and empties itself in the Bouro. In Bouromy, and Quahou, the Aswáda is much wider and deeper than at Salgha, particularly in the latter province, where its dimensions in some places exceed double the width before related, and consequently it is greater than the Thames at London. In Aquamboe, near the mouth of the river, it is so wide that the human voice at its greatest elevation cannot be heard from the opposite shore.

The great river that flows between Dahomy and Benin, and which consequently must be the Logos, is crossed in the forest east of Tounoma, where it is very narrow and shallow; but it is navigable near the town of Konjasi, where it bends south-east in its track to the sea behind Ardrah. The name of it, according to a Moslem of Tounoma, I was assured, is Komashar (كماشر) from a valuable sort of gum, so called, which abounds in its neighbourhood, and is collected for the markets of Yandy and Nikky, where it is sold to the northern traders. This river is inferior in

size to the Aswada, although equally adapted to the purposes of navigation, they both being exempt from cataracts and dangerous rapids. From Goyah it is fourteen journies, easterly, to the Komasha, or about two hundred geographic miles; but from Salgha to the same river, in the upper part of its course, it is no more than six. Its source is near Yandy.

Behind the Komashar in the Ayoh country, and upon the parallel of Salgha, is a lake of very great extent, whose shores the traveller, on an eastern or western journey, does not quit for two days; the name of it I know not; but my informers describe it as a fresh water lake, which had no communication with any river. Zogho is due north of this lake, from which it is distant six journies, or less than one hundred horizontal miles. From hence to Abomey it is seven journeys, and to Benin eleven. Its distance from the Komashar, at the ford, is three journies only. There are many populous islands in this lake, with towns and villages, and the natives of these parts are subject to the dominion of the sultan of Zogho. The tribes of Ayoh inhabit an extensive flat surface, south of the lake, and they also serve the sovereign of Zogho as tributaries.

The great river of Benin is among the easternmost of the great Wangara rivers. From Abomey to this river it is fourteen journies due east; and from the lake, before-mentioned, to the Kadarko River, a river which is said to fall into or unite with the Benin, it is but four good journies through the Yagah country, a country inhabited by a race of heathens; the same nearly in language, laws, and customs as Ayoh. Khimbee is the last district or principality in Wangara east; and that also is an appendage to the throne of Zogho.

'This great empire (Zogho), I conceive to be the Gago of Leo; and that the g, intended doubtless for a soft one, has been inserted by the translator to express the Arabian characters, ج or ڭ which, being nearly synonimous, are oftentimes indiscriminately used to mark the same sound. My informers said, in the most positive terms, there was no kingdom existing between Dahomy and Zogho, except such small ones as were tributary to the latter,

the sultan of which was the most powerful monarch known in these parts, without excepting the kings of Ashantee or Benin. They confirmed what Mr. Dalzel reported in his history of the kingdom of Dahomy; that the sovereigns of this country pay tribute to Ayoh, which they affirm is the same as Zogho, for these southern tribes are employed, as occasion may require, to collect it by force of arms. They call the sultan of Zogho, although a rigid Moslem, the friend of Dahomy; because that monarch suffers the government of Dahomy to exist when he might destroy it at his pleasure, for he can lead on an army of 500,000 men, a very great proportion of whom are good cavalry troops, well armed with short javelins, lances, bows and arrows, and cutting swords. The affinity, therefore, between Ayoh and Zogho, is the same as between Ashantee and Inta, or Entâa agreeably to what Mr. Dalzel has said, for Entâa is also the name of those tribes in Ghunja, who are settled near the Aswada, and who built the city of Salgha.

The sections of Wangara, as they are now politically divided, were, according to the traditions of the country, once united in one consolidated empire, under the government of a king, who resided at Yandy, and who governed Dahomy and Benin, the latter in tributary subjection. This southern empire, which was of no long duration, enjoyed its supremacy before the Arabs were known upon the Niger; and it was their encroachments chiefly, which, by causing the northern powers to fall back, contracted the resources of government and ultimately gave occasion to the tributary kingdoms to shake off their allegiance, (the tide of conquest flowing from east to west,) some of these sovereigns, in the sequel, becoming proselytes and others tributaries to the Arabs and their auxiliaries. Somewhere about the hejyran year 300 (that memorable epoch when the Arabs were led to expect that some portentous revolution would occur in the west; or, as it was metaphorically predicted, the sun would rise in that quarter;) the great empire of Wangara, which might then have been nearly as extensive as Bornou, was compelled to receive laws from the natives of the banks of the Koara and Ghulby. The auxiliary Moslem powers poured their forces into the

northern provinces, establishing their head-quarters at Killinga; from whence, at that time and for two or three subsequent centuries, they overawed the surrounding countries to the effect of eliciting tribute in ivory, slaves, and the produce of the gold mines of Ashantee and Gaman.

Whether the great districts of tropical Africa, such as Ghunja, Sarem, Dagomba, Killinga, Marroa, Fillany, &c. &c. are indebted to the Arabs for the names they now bear, I am not able to decide; but that of Yarraba, as I was assured by many, certainly received its name from the eastern Arab tribes; as the sound itself implies; as did also Fillany, from the western, in relation to Taffilet, (east of the Atlas Mountains), the land which gave birth to the conquerors of the West. Fillany is the proper name of the tribe of Taffilet. The deplorable action of war in this country is unquestionably a bar to the attainment of a correct and lasting system of its geography; and this evil, coupled with the few incidental opportunities that offer for checking the reports of travellers, and comparing their writings with those of ancient or established authority, must ever increase the obstacle as long, perhaps, as the natives of Europe and Africa shall be found to have feelings and interests of opposite characters. We need not go far for a solution of what this problem would give: It may be seen by a reference to maps of Guinea, which were engraved as recently as the early part of last century, that upon the Gold Coast only, many kingdoms enjoyed, in their day, a political and substantial existence; but which are now no more; or at most they exhibit but a shadow, which gives only a faint outline of their original splendour, their opulence, and their vigor; having been, from time to time harassed by cruel wars, of a tendency to extirpate or expatriate the population in a mass, and their names as nations. Let the reader refer to the map of Bosman's description of Guinea, where he will discover the names of powerful little kingdoms, such as Dinkera, Akim, Quahou, Aquamboe, Fantyn; besides those of less note, such as Adom, Coomany, Saboe, Ladincour, Acron, Agouna, and some others, the most celebrated of which barely enjoy their present oblivious rank and names as provinces of the

Ashantee Empire, while many places are totally extinct, and their ancient glory is supplanted by the ingress of a foreign population, bearing the names of their own tribes, to distinguish the new colony nationally.

The works of the ancients upon the subject of African kingdoms, appreciated by the most celebrated geographer of the present age, should not therefore be rashly rejected; however we may feel inclined to scepticism, on the ground of natural and permanent distinctions of land and water.

Another tradition says, that after the decline of power in the east, Dagomba and Ghunja were both united, more intimately than at present, and formed one great kingdom, that ruled from Magho to the sea shore of Dahomy; and that this was the political aspect of western Wangara for many generations, between the dismemberment of the original Wangara empire and the first coming of the Europeans; or, as they express it, the first knowledge their ancestors had of white men; the early Portuguese navigators.

At another period, when I know not, Kong and the Manding country were mistresses of Sarem; and they governed many other maritime nations in the south west. Haoussa, says the Bashaw, was then governed by a sheriffe, whose armies were composed of Arabs and Africans, from the north and east. Yarraba, at times, was tributary to it, as well as Killinga, and Arab fleets ruled the cities and tribes upon the banks of the Koara, the Ghulby, &c., as did their camel and cavalry armaments by land, wherever the country was adapted to open warfare. The heathens then could only find safety in the mountains, in close countries, and in those extensive forest lands wherewith the continent abounds; for the Arabs scowered every assailable point, to the effect of exacting tribute, and propagating the creed of the prophet in nations the most remote. The Moslem countries of the Koara, continued my informer, in a tone that evinced envy and regret, owe their religious felicity and the security they now enjoy to the wisdom of the old Arabian councils, and the vigour of their horse and camel troops, which the most powerful of the heathen nations trembled to confront on the plains

of north-east Africa; for most of the northern tribes, as well as those of Wangara, were possessed of none of those useful animals before they knew their conquerors. But, he concluded, the same causes which contributed to the subjugation of Soudan, and the propagation of Islam, in the revolution of years, aided the converted people, by God's will, to drive back the holy nation upon the deserts from whence they came, and where their posterity still exist, although some Arab tribes are yet to be found on the Koara, whose influence, comparatively, is not great; and whose jurisdiction is limited to the government of themselves, and the few insulated Ethiopian tribes of Moslems in their neighbourhood.

But for these events, it is the opinion of the Moslems of the south, that every nation, down to the sea coast itself, would have been converted to the service of Allah, long ere this, and the Koran would have been known throughout *Africa*; whereas now the Idolaters are strong in the south; and although they respect the Moslems from the fear of the most high God, to whom they observe them pray, yet many tribes of true believers are by them held in subjection, as may be seen at Ashantee; and are compelled to pay tribute and fight the battles of heathen princes, whose religion and whose interests are necessarily the reverse of their own.

The absence of that political co-operation in the north, it is affirmed, is mainly the cause why the southern believers are checked in their efforts to propagate God's worship by dint of arms; for the existing governments in the vicinity of the great inland waters are supine, and devoid of that energy which distinguished the career of the Arabs. If I might hazard an opinion, I would say, that the European trade upon the western and Guinea coasts, particularly the importation of guns, powder, and rum, operated greatly to the prejudice of the southern Moslem tribes, by arming so powerfully against them the idolaters of their neighbourhood.

The Moslems with whom I conversed are agreed that the maritime nations of heathens maintain their political preponderance on the coast, and their influence inland, by the use of European arms, the means of procuring

which are, necessarily at their command, from the wealth of Africa, (the gold mines of Wangara), so eagerly sought after by all nations, from the reign of Solomon*, being the produce of the soil they cultivate; and which is defended by such forests, mountains, and morasses, as defied the strength of the Arabs and their auxiliaries to approach, in the plenitude of their conquests. The Moslem sovereigns of Dagomba and Ghunja, and the sultan of Zogho, they assured me, ardently wished for a free communication with the whites; although the latter, from political reasons, did not think proper to root out the heathens in Dahomy, as he might if he had chosen. All these nations ardently desired such an intercourse, as would procure them the same weapons and commodities as the Europeans now import to Fantee, Amanaha, and the windward countries; a commerce which it is not the policy of the maritime powers, such as Ashantee and Dahomy, to permit; and therefore the interior states purchase what they require of the manufactures of the north, at the great markets of Haoussa, Killinga and Sarem, besides certain other stationary markets, upon the Koara, frequented by the northern traders.

In reply to a question, if it were possible for me to visit Yandy, Zogho, and Nikky;—the Bashaw said, it was not to be doubted, that the name of the king of Ashantee was sufficiently powerful to carry me safely to those places, or any part of the east to the extent of Yarraba; (Benin excepted) and if coupled with that of the great white sultan, my sovereign, it would not only be a sufficient passport, but gain me the friendship of any court in Soudan. The king of Dahomy also, he added, would be jealous, and the king of Ashantee would not wish me to visit his country, because it lies on the sea side; whereas in the north and eastern districts, where the alliance exists, my visits would give pleasure to the king and caboceers, who would feel pride in the envy of other nations.

* I scarcely need observe, that Solomon's *Wangara* was on the eastern shores.

The great kingdoms or empires of modern Wangara are three in number, Ashantee, Dahomy, and Benin, and their dependencies. Those of minor importance contained in the districts of Sarem, Ghunja, Dagomba, and Yarraba, including the tributaries, are, in the West, Enkasy, Gaman, Aowin, and Amanahia, or Apollonia; in the centre, Ghofan, Tonouma, Entaa, Mahee, Gouaso, Kerapy, Popo, Whydah, and Ardrah. In the east, Yagah, Khimbee, Ajasee, Jaboo, Kosie, and Waree.

The Moslems are scattered over the new provinces of Bouromy, Yobaty, Baboso, Sokoo, and Takima; but their political sway is confined to the government of themselves. Enkasy is the first Moslem principality in the north-west, inhabited by some strayed tribes from Manding. From Coomassy to Soke Aila, the capital (or market-place) of Enkasy, it is fourteen journies, and six more to Kong. Agreeably to this, I have placed the former in 9° 26′ N. lat. 3° 42′ W. lon. and the latter 10° 12′ lat. 4° lon. and which I conceive to be very near the truth. Enkasy is tributary to Kong, and Kong itself pays tribute to Melly, a kingdom in which the Moslem influence is great, although its sovereign is an unbeliever.

Ghofan is the first Moslem government in the north beyond Banna, from which it is separated by the Gaman province of Sokoo, formerly a little principality, by Banna itself, Baboso, and the Deserts. It is hilly or mountainous in the NW. and desert in the SE. but it has many extensive fertile plains, well cultivated, and the country contains a moderate population, who were the most warlike and active of the enemies of Ashantee (Kong and the Manding tribes, perhaps, excepted). Ghofan, seven years back, was tributary to the sultan of Kong, but since the subjugation of Gaman, in the late war, the king of Banna, the ally of the Ashantee empire, has overrun many places in the south, and established a new frontier upon the river. The Koran is the only established law here, and at Ghobagho, another Moslem country, to the north east, now of a greater importance than Ghofan, from which it is distant only seven journies, or about one hundred and twelve

miles; and from Coomassy to Daboya, its capital, (although the sultan mostly resides at Botintasy) sixteen journies or two hundred and fifty-six miles. I have accordingly assigned it the latitude and longitude of 10° 15′ N. and 0° 32′ W.

The Desert, which must be crossed from Ghofan, is an extensive track of coarse white sand, with a few stunted bushes, whose greatest breadth from N. to S. is four journies. Water, however, is to be found in abundance in the Desert; mostly in large stagnant pools, or lakes, besides the Aswada, and many of its tributary streams, which flow through the heart of it. The Sarga mountains, which are very lofty, lie to the westward of Ghobagho, from which the loftiest ridges are distant five journies; but a branch of them may be seen from Daboya and Botintasy.

Yandy, the metropolis of Dagomba, is seated in a small district named Simmer, on the confines of the great forest of Tonouma. It is on the line of the main road from Salgha, from which it is distant six days to the NNE. and from Coomassy twenty-one, or three hundred and thirty British miles, which would give it about the latitude and longitude of 9° 40′ N. 1° 20′ E. as I have assigned its position on the map. From Yandy to Abomey, the capital of Dahomy, it is thirteen journies, and to Benin twenty-eight, giving to the former a distance of two hundred British miles, and to the latter three hundred and forty. Different from travelling in Ashantee, all these journies may be performed with facility, from the general open state of the country, and the use of horses, and other beasts of burthen. The great forest, or wilderness of Ghomaty, is five journies distant from Yandy, in the NE., the southern boundary of which serves also for the boundary of Wangara in that direction.

The eastern kingdoms and tribes of Wangara, are deemed infinitely more populous and more civilized than the western: a truth which, I believe, is not to be questioned, for there agriculture is encouraged, and commerce exists upon an equal scale with the most commercial people in Africa. In pursuit of gain the natives of Khimbee, Ajasee, Ghodau, Benin,

and Mazam, wander to the most remote parts of the continent in caravans, or by means of the great waters that intersect Yarraba and Killinga.

In all these countries, Benin excepted, horses are plentiful, particularly in Ayoh and Yagah. Fire arms and gunpowder are, however, unknown in these parts or very scarce, but their weapons, which they wield with great dexterity and execution, are much dreaded in that country. These weapons, which I have seen in Coomassy, are very long supple lances, barbed and poisoned, targets, bows and arrows, tomahawks and iron maces, the former of which they are in the practice of poisoning with a venom more deadly than that which is used by any other nation, as its operation is said to be sometimes instantaneous, and its wound, although ever so slight, usually produces death within the lapse of a few minutes. The troops of the sultan of Zogho are armed in the same manner, and his subjects, who, although commercial, are as brave as the Ashantees, and perhaps more enterprising, are proportionably dreaded by the surrounding nations. Benin itself, although not strictly tributary to the sovereign of Zogho, frequently sends presents to the Court of the latter, where, by his ambassadors, the king cultivates the friendship of a power he has too much reason to fear, from his great resources inland, and the means he has of insinuating a Dahoman army on the west over the Lagos river.

Benin itself is rich, and comparatively a civilized well governed kingdom, superior to Ashantee in the arts and conveniences of life, in the state of society, and in the administration of the laws, which, however, have no better foundation than custom and tradition. The spirit of commerce reigns here, and particularly in the northern provinces, in its utmost vigour; and the land itself is so fertile and populous, that it is usual to travel the day long amidst corn fields or plantations, of which the tall and stunted palm, date, plantain, banana, yam, cassada, and some kinds of fruit trees besides, occupy the surface of many acres, which are enclosed with mud walls or bramble, to distinguish them as private property.

The Moslem traders of Benin are said to navigate on their great rivers,

and the eastern branches which join the Kadarko, the Shoanka, and Shaderbah.* Some of these rivers open a communication with a tribe of heathens named Gargari, who live in tents, and are not black, but a red skinned people, yet they are not of the Arabian stock. The best breeds of horses and mules come from these parts.

On the sea shores of Benin there is no navigation adapted to canoe voyages, for the sea runs so high, and breaks with such violence upon the Warree, Kosie, and some parts of the Dahoman coasts, (as I have seen the effect myself,) that the natives of those parts scarcely ever venture out of their rivers; and the sea, unlike that of the Gold Coast, yields them little or no tribute from its stores; but in requital, they enjoy in security from the surf and the tempest, the most prolific inland fisheries known any where in Soudan. There is, moreover, an open navigation, by means of these rivers and lakes, extending from the city of Benin westward to the Volta, crossing the Cradoo lake, the Lagos, passing Porto Nova, Whydah, Popo, and Cape St. Paul. On the eastern side of Benin, the extent of river navigation is not precisely known, unless to the natives themselves; but it is admitted that there are channels which intersect all the Warree rivers at right angles, running within the compass of one or two days from the sea shore, out of the Formosa river into the Forcados, Dodo, Nun, St. Nicholas, Bartholomew, Callebar, Bonny, &c; that the land hereabout is covered with thicket and forest trees; † that the navigation in Warree, although unobstructed by natural causes, is proportionately dangerous, from the ferocious character of the people in these parts, and the bands of robbers who lurk in concealment among the trees, ready to attack the trading canoes. The sovereign of Benin,

* This river is called by the natives of Dagomba, Ghulby Kanbaja, and by the Haoussa Moslems, Shaderbah. It is remarkable, that there is a city in the kingdom of Maury, near the Lake Noufy, which is also called Kanbaja.

† I have been at the Dodo, and have seen many of the rivers between the Formosa and Callebar, and such I know to be the aspect of the country.

powerful as he is, cannot, as my informers say, exact entire obedience from these people, who are supported in their independence by the association of numbers of the discontented subjects of Benin itself, who emigrate to the forests of Warree for personal security, or to escape the retaliation of violated laws. There are said to be three great forks which branch off from Ajasse at ten journies from the sea, to which they run in a course inclining to the east of south; and all these streams, in their upper courses, are studded with richly cultivated islands, towns, and villages.

On the western boundary of Wangara is Gaman, formerly a powerful kingdom, and now a province of the Ashantee empire. Its boundary on the west is a flat country inhabited by the Mandings; Ghombaty, and Enkasy bound it on the north. The Tando river separates it from Ashantee Proper on the east, and Aowin, Amanaha, Lahou, and Bassam on the sea-coast, are its limits in the south. The town of Bontokoo, the ancient residence of its sovereigns, bears north-west from Coomassy, from which it is distant eight journies. I have accordingly assigned its place on the map, 7° 36′ lat. N. 3° 25′ lon. W. Houraboh, the residence of its last king, is five journies beyond Bontokoo, and its position, by the same calculation, will stand good at 8° 30′—3° 58′.

Gaman, and particularly its provinces of Ponin, Safoy, and Showy, contain the richest gold mines known to my informers, in this or any other part of Africa; who by way of illustration say, that in Ashantee, Dinkra, and Wassau, the veins of metal are found at the depth of twelve cubits (twenty-two feet) below the surface, but in these Gaman provinces at five (nine feet.) The ore is dug principally out of large pits, which belonged to the late king, in the neighbourhoods of Briquanti and Kontosoo. The gold from these parts, according to specimens which were shewn to me, is of a very deep colour, mixed with red gravel and pieces of white granite. It all falls under the denomination of rock gold, and is considered of more intrinsic value than that of Ashantee, although the latter, as it passes for current, is mostly pure. The gold of Gaman, i. e. the pit gold, is sometimes brought to the Ashantee market in solid lumps, imbedded in loam and rock, which together would

A Man & Woman of Gaman.

probably weigh fourteen or fifteen pounds troy, and of pure metal might possibly yield, if separated from the dross, about one pound or one pound and a half. But even this, as I was credibly assured, is no sample adequate to convey a just idea of the richness of the mines, many of which, and of the richest in ore, are either dedicated to the national gods, or are deemed, as in Ashantee, too sacred to cut into. Other specimens which bore the most perfect natural appearances, were displayed daily before my eyes, in solid lumps, which the caboceers wore attached to the wrists, during and after the Adai custom, and which would in some instances, I am inclined to think, weigh as much as four pounds. The dust gold of Gaman, which is collected by washing in the beds of torrents during the rains, the same as in Ashantee, Fantee, and Ahanta, is also higher coloured, cleaner, and better than what is gathered in any other country*. On the banks of the Barra, a stream which rises near the large Moslem town of Kherabi, and flows south into the Tando or Assinee river, the Gamans also wash for gold; and during the season of rain, my informers relate, there is occupation for eight or ten thousand slaves for two months; and the metal they collect, added to the produce of the pits, the great bulk of which used formerly to be exported to Manding and Kong, (where it was manufactured into trinkets, and from thence transported to the nations of the Jolliba) now finds its way to Ashantee, from whence it passes in small quantities to the maritime provinces of Apollonia, Ahanta, Fantee, &c. and is there alloyed before it reaches the hands of the whites; and the principal part of the metal is either carried away by the inland traders, or remitted to the correspondents of the Moslems at Yandy, Salgha, Banko, Wabea, and

* Although Quaho, Akim, and some other parts of the empire bordering the Volta, formerly yielded much gold, yet, at present, there are few, if any, pits in those provinces, which pay the working, unless it should be imagined that the inhabitants have purposely neglected them of late years, perhaps to avoid the evils they might anticipate from the cupidity of their conquerors the Ashantees. To the westward of Cape Coast, in the little district called Adoom, which is one journey inland of Poho, or three short ones from the sea; in the neighbourhood of Jaccorary, the natives have many rich mines or pits, where they dig out the ore and grind it between rubbing stones to separate the metal from the quartz pebble.

other great cities of the north-east districts. In this active state of currency it shortly reaches Zogho, Salamo, Kook, and last, Nikky, the metropolis of the great kingdom of Bargho, where also it is transformed into trinkets and ducats, (Mitskal) and under its new characters is as rapidly translated to the Koara at Haoussa, or is circulated in the provinces or neighbouring kingdoms of Wawa, Maury, Kaima, Baman, and Kandashi. From the Koara and the Ghulby it is circulated through all parts of Soudan, the Desert, and its kingdoms, Bornou, Egypt, and the Gharb, but it never finds its way to any of those countries perfectly pure, and never in its crude state, either as it is dug from the mines, or in lump or dust as it passes for the medium of exchange in western Wangara. The Ashantees themselves manufacture a little into trinkets, chains, breast-plates, and ornaments; it melts away in a moderate equal proportion in its north-easterly progress, even before it reaches the kingdoms of Bargho or Magho, where the great manufactories are.

Within the empire, the provinces of Soko and Takima, independent of the native population, who are heathens, contain many large towns, where the Moslems live in distinct societies under the jurisdiction of their own laws, but in subordination to the caboceers, appointed by the king of Ashantee, or the tributary sovereigns and princes, whose governments were not violated in the late war. Nomassa, the metropolis of Soko, is said to contain about a thousand Moslems. In Waraki, the proportion is even greater than this, and at Kherabi they are permitted to live entirely by themselves in a city which was described to me to be as large as Doompassy, and where the head bashaw of the believers resides, who governs, for the king, the Moslems of the north-west, in number, probably exceeding 80,000 of both sexes, including the proselytes. But even at this estimate, as I conceive from the reports of the Bashaw of Coomassy, the believers who are settled in the north-eastern districts and provinces of Ashantee west of the Aswada, in Yobati, Bouromy, Baboso, Coransah, part of Ghofan, and the kingdom of Banna, are infinitely more numerous, and may, upon the total average, bear a proportionate relation to the heathens, as one to fifteen.

As the maritime nations, and the Fantees in particular, are, of all the tribes of Wangara, those with whom the British have hitherto been the most intimately connected, I shall conclude this chapter with some information respecting their character. The king of Ashantee alluded to them in several conferences, public and private: "If I had not loved white men," said he, "surely I should not have made peace when the white flag was displayed, but I would have had the forts where I knew there was plenty of gold and merchandize. The Fantees wanted to govern the castle, and they alone were enemies to us both; they formerly ill-used white men, * but they dare not now." Indeed the king's observation was a just one, in every point; for, previous to his visit to the Coast, it was perhaps hardly known at times whether the British governed themselves, or were governed by the Fantees.

* Meredith, in characterizing the natives of the Coast, says, "They are too well acquainted with our weak condition," &c. "They know we are only formidable when surrounded with walls and guns. It was a most fortunate circumstance for the British character in this country, that the Ashantees made a trial of their courage and strength against Annamaboe. If they had attacked any other fort, under similar circumstances, *they most probably would have succeeded*," &c. "We hear of contributions being imposed on our neighbours, forts pillaged, governors threatened with torture or beheading, others actually murdered, one gentleman surprized, and now a prisoner," &c. "Neither have the British been permitted to enjoy perfect tranquillity. The governor of this fort (himself at Winnebah) was seriously threatened twice, by Attah, the late king of Akim. He sent a peremptory message, demanding a quantity of powder, lead, and guns, accompanied with threatening language, calculated to excite terror," &c. This demand was not complied with, *but a present was sent to him, as a token of friendship*," &c. In a second demand, according to this author, he met a *polite refusal*, which so irritated him, that he says, we believe, "he would wish to be revenged," &c. In consequence, the governor is obliged to keep within certain limits; and prudence restrains him from walking any distance from the fort, for fear of being surprized. Again he says, "Two instances *he is obliged by candour to state*, have come to our knowledge, of *two governors having been literally flogged*, &c.; one captain of a ship nearly flogged to death, and another *almost murdered*, besides other cruelties and indignities too painful to relate." Might it not be reasonably asked, if these are the people, as the Committee would insinuate, for whom we should risk the honour of the flag so precariously insulated, our property, and our lives, against a friendly power, who claims their allegiance by right of conquest and cession, and who, at the same time, meets our overtures with open arms, and hails our footsteps in the capital, as the treading of demigods? The Committee are bound to answer the question to their country!

by the natives, whose arrogance knew no moderation, in the plenitude of their strength, and whose maxim it was to terrify into compliance, by every act that cruelty, falsehood, and treachery could devise. True, however, it is, and equally humiliating, that they palliate their sins of this dye by recriminating upon the whites, whom they accuse of acting towards them unconscientiously, and without any other regard than to their own proper interests. It was no uncommon thing for the natives to assemble in arms, at any little disgust they might take, and shut up the garrisons within their walls. Cape Coast Castle itself, the redoubted fortification, that, as Mr. Smith would insinuate, was to bid defiance to the whole power of Ashantee, has repeatedly experienced this calamity from the natives of *its town only;* and the last time it happened was but a very few years back, and since their subjugation by the Ashantees, when the people, from their house-tops, had almost, I had said, overawed the garrison; for the cannon-shot could only perforate the mud walls, without dislodging the enemy from the thatch; while these plied their weapons effectually through the embrasures, killing the sergeant, and maiming others; and this disgusting anarchy terminated, as usual, in a humiliating compromise, wherein each party bound themselves to restore peace to the other, as it would seem, upon the basis of a mutual forgiveness. As to the out-forts, excepting, perhaps, Annamaboe, they have occasionally exchanged masters with the natives: and his *sable Excellency* has been seated under the flag-staves, or in the halls of his deposed predecessors, negotiating at head-quarters for their own abdication, upon golden terms. What, I would ask, led to the demolition of the fort at Winnebah, recently, but these very outrages? And what befel Mr. Meredith himself? Did not the natives drag that gentleman and another, barefoot, over burning stubble, that lacerated and scorched their feet at every step,—flogging them, at the same time, in a most inhuman and degrading manner? and was not Mr. Smith an eye-witness of this brutality, which in the sequel cost one or both gentlemen their lives? Can it be denied that matters have been carried to that point of extremity, that governors in former years have been compelled to fire their magazines, and blow themselves

into the air, to avoid falling into the hands of an infuriated people? But in palliation of these acts, as the Fantees relate, if it were practicable to draw out a just list of aggravations and offences, and enumerate the sins of all, it would probably be a matter of speculation which way the balance might incline.

The ponderous power of Ashantee, in lieu of contributing to the insecurity of life and property, *alone guarantees both* to us, by its friendship, its *interests*, and the position it occupies in the rear of its maritime provinces. The Fantees have it no longer in their power, as the king justly observed, to pursue their rancours so audaciously, although other tribes may still enjoy such privileges.

In the wantonness of cruelty, it was a common practice with the Fantees to attack the canoes of white men, drag them on shore, make them carry the great drum on the tops of their heads, flog them, compel them to pay ransom, &c. Mr. Swanzy himself, if his own confession may be entitled to credit, has had the honour, in common with others, of undergoing one or both operations. *

And what are the people of the sea coast, now. I have sat in council at Cape Coast Castle to arbitrate upon a business relating to Mr. Blinkarn†; or Blenkairn, the governor of Apollonia fort, and the insignificant king of that country; wherein his black majesty, by threats and insults the most alarming,

* The Fantees, Mr. Meredith writes, "demanded of the Dutch government forty ounces of gold, under a threat of destroying their fort at Cormantine, (originally built by ourselves) if the sum should be denied them. The Dutch government would not comply with their demand; in consequenee of which the Annamaboes marched out, headed by their king; and as the fort was incapable of making resistance, it was pillaged, the guns rendered useless, part of the walls levelled, and the artificers attached to it made prisoners.

† This is the same Captain Blenkairn, who, it seems, has the command of one division of the forces raised for the defence of the British settlements on the Gold Coast, and which was too far distant to share in the action wherein Sir Charles M'Carthy, and the troops under his immediate command, sustained that terrible defeat.

the most aggravating, extorted from that gentleman gold and merchandize, exceeding I believe the value of thirty or forty ounces? And what redress did he obtain? What were the steps taken to vindicate the honour and inviolability of the British flag? and lastly, what expedient was resorted to, to check the cupidity of the petty tyrant on future occasions, and secure the person and property of this officer from fresh indignities, or the outrages resistance might bring on his head? These are questions which I, of course, must answer; *None*!* No, not a shadow even of consolation; but on the contrary, the affected dignity of these legislators having, perhaps, in contemplation that aspect which was necessary to give currency to the pecuniary grant of the government, and carry weight in Downing Street, at the Treasury, or before Parliament, induced its award so far in favour of the princely robber, that it suggested the necessity of *censuring the conduct of Mr. Blenkairn* for having complied with the demand; as if his loss and the predicament he stood in were not severe enough, or that he durst have expostulated with the tyrant. This gentleman made a long stay at head-quarters, and from what I could learn, he was placed in that critical situation which created a dread at the thought of returning to the dominions of a despot, who to renew the expression, had as great, or a greater share in the government of a British castle than himself, or the Company he represented. Yet it would seem to have been instilled in the public mind, that the government there enjoyed power and influence, and that empire belonged to us on the shores of that continent. The *notes* alone might suffice to prove that a veil has hitherto concealed from public observation the actual state of things as they lately existed. But setting those deeds aside, I assert, in positive terms, that the Company were never entitled to any rank as territorial rulers; for

* Indeed, it must be confessed, that if the united British garrisons had been conveyed to Apollonia with intent to revenge the affront, the chances are, that few would have returned to report the issue of the campaign. This does not argue, however, against the adoption of a course of policy adequate to the emergency of the business.

they never enjoyed jurisdiction over an inch of ground upon the continent, if we except those inches circumscribed by the walls of the castles; to which, as we have seen, their titles were frequently contested by the maritime towns, and which they at all times held in insecurity, notwithstanding they paid annual, quarterly, or monthly tributes, or presents (call them by either term) to purchase that respect which they were never able to command for their sovereign's flag; whether from incompetence or the inadequacy of the funds at their disposal or not. If any trifling exception deserves to be registered against this sweeping clause, it is simply this; that the invasion of Fantee, by the king, and the extirpation or expatriation of its tribes by the armies of Ashantee in 1807, and subsequently, opened, as it might seem, a field for the scope of ambition, feeble and dishonourable as it was, upon the face of the treaty, whereby the title of the conqueror was acceded to and formally acknowledged; violated, acknowledged again; violated during the government of Mr. Smith, and acknowledged once more by his nephew at Coomassy, in 1817.

The political aspect of Cape Coast, after the great invasion of 1807, and other subsequent movements, with a powerful sovereign, now the liege monarch, in the rear, and the European castles in the van; the people reduced, as we see, to the shadow of their former strength, in course of time naturally threw them to a certain degree into our arms, for that protection which they knew we could at all times *purchase* by negotiation: hence although tribute had been paid over and over again, they were encouraged to resist the demand *exactly as I landed in the country*, purposely and sinisterly, as it did appear, to prevent my journey to court, without awakening my just suspicions; or to gain time for the climate and disappointed hopes to work their baneful effects on my constitution. It must be observed, however, that linked as the interest of blacks and whites may seem to have been in political feelings, the former, in some towns, could never be brought to forget the sway they heretofore enjoyed over the councils of the chief establishments; accordingly we find them, enfeebled as they were, lording it in the town, compelling the garrison at Cape Coast to seek safety

behind their walls; where they remained shut up, upon an insignificant quarrel about a man who refused to pay his debts. The appeal, as usual, was to arms, and some fell in the conflict*.

As another proof how limited this dependence was, the governors of forts were never, at any time, able to prevent those horrid systems of murder and sacrifice connected with the superstitious rituals of the barbarous pagan religions. I have known many unhappy victims to water the earth with their blood within gunshot of the walls of castles. At Accra, two women and as many men were butchered, with every aggravating circumstance, directly under the ramparts; and all that could be employed, persuasion, was urged by the governor (the late Mr. Gordon) to no purpose. At Tantum, during the government of the late Mr. Adamson, the same class of murders were continually practised with impunity; the same at Apollonia, Dixcove, Succondee, and Chamah. The only degree of decency observed at Cape Coast (and that but latterly,) was to compel the natives to practise their odious massacres at a distance from observation. Rather than adopt a system of moral and religious policy which might be found to interfere with long established interests; rather than pursue maxims of humanity supported by good example; the people have purposely, I am justified in saying, been suffered to practise, among other vices, these diabolical tragedies in open day, and in open spots; or in their houses, and in "the bush." I should disgust my readers of the tender sex were I to relate more of the depraved propensities of these untutored people; suffice it to say generally, that they

* The king once observed to me, that he knew the nations of Cape Coast were a saucy turbulent people, and that they cheated the English as much as they did the Ashantees, bidding defiance to the authority of governors, and treating white men, in common, with brutality. "If you," said the monarch, "tell me my master (the king of England) is agreeable to it, I will bring them all to Coomassy and send another tribe to live among the whites; I will not kill them, but will give them land, and a good governor to make them obedient, and if the people I send should become saucy I will remove them also, or authorize the whites to cut off their heads."

inherit all the vice, and much of the infirmity of human nature; all the evil affections or passions of the whites; all the malignant and brutal inclinations of savages; and none of those refinements which do honour to the human heart and understanding. If this is not a fair picture, let who will contradict it. The humane, the charitable, and religious in parliament, heretofore used their efforts, to induce the inculcation of a system of education among the natives; whereby these unhappy propensities might ultimately be corrected, and the people enlightened by scriptural and other knowledge. The liberal vote of £5,000 per annum, in addition to the former grant, was carried in the House of Commons, expressly to promote that desirable object, in association with the views anticipated by government when His Majesty was graciously pleased to honour me with the appointment of consul at the court of Ashantee.

Neither the Dutch, the Danes, nor ourselves, can claim merit for having ameliorated the heart of the Gold Coast African, or even softened the barbarous asperity of his nature. But, as may regard recent improvements in the morals of men, in that country, during the administration of his excellency, the late Sir Charles M'Carthy, they are out of the question; for with the means at his disposal, over a people so greatly reduced in strength, and as regards the serious interest taken by government in promoting knowledge, spreading civilization along the coast, and in short encouraging the prosperity of those colonies by means, which to them seemed reasonable, advantageous, and promising; there can be no doubt that some, perhaps many, of the evils I have described to have existed in my time, were rooted out; for power must exact obedience, and as a tribute to the memory of Sir Charles, I will say, that few men knew better than he did how to regulate it, and fewer possessed more ability or inclination to temper it with indulgence towards the feelings and interests of those who were dependent upon him.

The Dutch have suffered from the villainous disposition of the people, both in former and recent years; perhaps, in some instances, proportionately

with ourselves. It is but a short period back, when the natives of El Mina rose upon their chief governor Hogenboom, (I think the name was) the predecessor of President Oldenburgh; chased him into his garden, on the banks of the Salt River, and there murdered him in a barbarous manner. At Eguira, many years back, it is true, they and their fort were blown up together into the air. In the Anteese country, at Adoom, Abocroe, Axim, Accoda, Boutry, Shamah, and other lands in the west, they have occasionally borne their share of the calamities; whether they originated in their own mismanagement, or from the natural fraud, turbulence, and ferocity of the tribes of those parts.

At Succondee, where we are still established, the Anteese negroes, in former times, burnt our fort, massacred the governor and his garrison, and plundered the Company's warehouses, private property and all.

See what Bosman relates of the Adomese negroes, and others inhabiting the banks of the Praâ or Chamah River, at its outlet in the gulf; for it is a fair specimen of what they would be, in common with the Ashantees, and Dahomans at least, if they had the same power as those nations.

"Anqua, the king," he says, "having, in an engagement, taken five of his principal Anteese enemies prisoners, he wounded them all over, after which, with a more than brutal fury, he satiated, though not tired himself, by sucking their blood at their gaping wounds; but bearing a more than ordinary grudge against one of them, he caused him to be laid bound at his feet, and his body to be pierced with hot irons, gathering the blood that issued from him in a vessel, one half of which he drank and offered up the rest unto his God." On another occasion he put to death one of his wives and a slave, drinking their blood also, as was his usual practice with his enemies.

At Commenda itself, now the dirty little mass of fishermen's huts, where originated (through the insolence of the inhabitants) the existing quarrel with the king of Ashantee, the people formerly were as turbulent as they are still, (or were in my time) insolent and despicable: the Dutch themselves

can bear testimony to it. In the early days of which I speak, and since also, they attacked the fort of that nation from the tops of their houses, as Cape Coast itself was insulted by them of late years. The action, on one occasion, lasted five hours during the night, and although they failed in their object, yet they succeeded in intercepting a reinforcement, as they landed on the beach, and cut their throats. The treacherous chief gunner, in the service of the Dutch, while the massacre was taking place within reach of the cannon, had nailed up the touch-holes of the pieces, and thereby prevented them giving any assistance to their comrades, whose slaughter they were compelled to witness in silence.

Coming eastward to the Fantee country, the same writer says, and he truly says it, that the English were so horribly plagued by these people, that they were sometimes confined to their fort and not permitted to stir out. And if the negroes disliked the governor of the fort, they made no more to do, than send him packing back to Cape Coast in a canoe, in contempt; and which, so far from being able to resent, we were compelled to make peace by a present.

Christiansburg itself, the chief settlement of the Danes, and one of the best fortifications on the Guinea coast, was once actually taken from them by the negroes of the leeward coast; and they entirely gutted it of its stores and property; nor was the castle again restored until the Danes condescended to send a handsome present to the king of Aquamboe.

In later days the disorders have raged in a moderate equal proportion: many instances could be deduced to prove, that those tribes from whom we might have had reason to hope for a greater degree of friendship, and in whom from local interests, we had a right to expect a greater share of honesty and attachment, have been the very parties who have wantonly triumphed in sedition, insult, and knavery.

But, our relations on the Guinea Coast, I am inclined to think, have never been properly understood; and yet Meredith, a servant of the company, and who is comparatively a very modern author, has in some way been suffered

to betray the secret: he says, "It may be necessary to remark that we appear to claim no *right* of conquest in Africa, as far as it respects the natives; the company pay *ground rent* and *water custom* at most of their settlements. The people are regulated by their own laws and customs and will not submit to ours. When they agree to any laws, between the whites and themselves, they generally break them, if they operate against the interest of the blacks. The forts have been maintained for the purposes of trade only; and to enforce laws is attended with much difficulty, expense, and risk, consequently it is prudent to avoid hostilities, if they can any way decently be avoided." What can be clearer than this? If it is now the object of the legislature to establish a sovereign controul on the Gold Coast, it would probably be adviseable in the first instance, to purchase the Dutch and Danish settlements; then, by a very *different* kind of alliance than that which was effected, carry the war to the neighbourhood of the metropolis.

The connection existing, in my time, between the whites and the natives of the maritime towns, but chiefly Cape Coast Castle, was indeed in all matters concerning the inland people, a pure and intimate association of interest with those of the Coast; having for its object, as Mr. Bowdich justly remarked, an united effort to profit by the ignorance of the unsuspecting trader of the interior. I have conversed with several of the Company's servants, upon the impolicy, as well as injustice of such a system; and the usual reply was, "the Governor conducts his trade upon the same principle as we do, for it has existed time out of memory, and were we to set our faces against it our goods might remain on hand for ever, as the town brokers, upon whom we depend to bring us trade, would give the preference to another, who would comply with established regulations." Our neighbours, the Dutch, wisely protect the interest of the foreign trader, and thereby guarantee their own; the consequence is, that they enjoy a proportionate mercantile, as well as political confidence at Coomassy; and the commerce of the interior, for those reasons chiefly, may be carried to El Mina, in preference to any other town upon the line of coast, or any other European establishment.

There is no slander, then, in saying, as not only Sir James Yeo, and Mr. Bowdich, but many others besides have said, that the British and the blacks were, however compulsively on the part of the former, leagued together for the purpose of defrauding those Ashantees who might place some faith in a white countenance; nor those alone, but strangers of all colours. It has been stated, that the grievances and disorders of this and other complexions were imaginary and unfounded. Let us see if the defence will bear the test of investigation; and, in doing so, I shall commence with the remarks made by Bosman, pages 12 and 13, of the nature of African commerce in his days.

"At Dikjeschoftt (Dixcove) properly called Infuma, the English built a small fort, anno 1691. I have often heard the English themselves complain of this place; for, besides that it is not a place of good trade, the negroes thereabouts are so intractable, fraudulent, villainous, and obstinate, that the English cannot deal with them; for if they have recourse to violence in order to bring them to reason, they are also opposed by force; and that so warmly, that these five years past they adventured to besiege them in their fortress, and were very near taking it; at last, they obliged the English to their terms without allowing them to exercise any power over them; and hence proceeded an alliance so strict betwixt them, that they jointly cheated all the *ships* that came to trade there, by putting sophisticated gold upon them, a fraud which they have frequently practised, as they did about three months past, upon two small English ships (one of which was laden to the value of £1,700 sterling) for all which the master received only false gold; so that he lost his whole voyage at once; nor did his companion suffer much less: and what mostly surprised them was, that they received it as well from the whites as the negroes. They applied themselves to the English chief governor on the coast, desiring they might have their goods returned, or good gold exchanged for the false: but, to complain to him, was to go to the devil to be confessed; for he, participating in the fraud, would by no means help them. This cheat has become so common that it daily happens; but that the whites have *always* a hand in it, is what I dare not affirm; however, I am very sure that

this place deserves the name of the false mint of Guinea, of which every trader who comes to the coast ought to be warned; for the making of false gold is here so common that it is publickly sold, and become a perfect trade; the price current being in my time about a *crown* in good gold for two pounds sterling of false."*

The Fantees, the natives of Cape Coast, and in general those of the other maritime towns, enrich themselves by these very means, coupled with the impositions they practise upon the inland people, as well as upon us. In reference more particularly to the gold frauds, it may be observed, that it is usual for the towns-men to call themselves brokers, because the Ashantees, Dinkrans, Wassaws, Akims, Assins, and others from the inland parts, on their arrival at the settlements, in times of intercourse, are in the practice of putting up at the houses of one or other of the natives who speak a little English, and are in the service and pay of the whites; and these men receive it pure and unadulterated, as it passes current in the interior. Before they accompany the trader to the house of the white merchant, they endeavour, either during the hours of repose, or as a fit occasion may present itself, to change the gold, or reduce its value, by the intermixture of what is no other than coloured brass filings; or if the guest is too much on the alert, they contrive to do it in the merchant's apartment, before the face of patron and guest,—unknown, of course, to the latter, but oftentimes with the knowledge of the former, who dare not resist the fraud, as they confess, and as I have repeatedly witnessed myself. Nay, these conscientious brokers themselves, when taxed with their impositions, will say, "How can I afford to keep the traders in my house, unless I make a profit by them?—innocently, as it would seem, imagining that they are entitled to pay upon two, or perhaps as many more

* As Bosman then wrote upon the subject of sophisticated gold, and the manner in which it is palmed upon the whites; so I may now write of what came under my observation; for the same system prevailed generally, and even the established white merchants were victims to it; as they took the gold knowing it sometimes to be a fabricated mixture.

brokerage commissions as they can secure to themselves. Thus, the emoluments these people were in the habit of reaping, through their agency, in commerce, amounted, upon an averaged estimate I made, at 12 or 15 per cent. reduction of the value of gold, and 10 per cent. at least for frauds,* and pay they were in the habit of exacting from the merchant, making together, at the very lowest estimate, 20 per cent. reduction from the profits due to the toils, and upon the property of the British trader, to the detriment of local and commercial interests in general. Instead, however, of 20 per cent., they have even been known to cheat and plunder all parties, to the amount of 50 per cent. and more; but this extensive villainy usually happens from accidental opportunities, or when the confiding master trusts his servant to inspect and pack his gold for the London market, from whence he gains his earliest knowledge of the fraud, by letters from his correspondent.

Such sentiments as integrity, honour, and even honesty, would inspire, are wholly unknown or disregarded by these people, be their relations to the white man intimate and confidential as they may; for the truth of the matter is, they are strictly and almost exclusively engrossed with plans and plots, which have no other object than their own proper interests and feelings. I believe, indeed, that there is no criterion to judge when the broker would pause in his career of chicanery, as long as he imagines he is secure from detection; but whether the whites first set them the example, or that the latter only conformed to established orders of trade, is what I cannot answer.

* One description of fraud or extortion was conducted in this manner:—An Ashantee would have occasion, let it be supposed, for guns. The broker would enquire of his employer, *in English*, how much he would sell for. If the fixed price was seven ackeys a gun, he would tell the trader nine, and pocket the other two himself, with the knowledge and consent of his master, who, as I have said before, dare not resist the imposition, for fear of losing the broker's services and connexion. Hence the natives are so anxious to place their children under the whites, as servants, to learn, as they call it, *proper sense;* for when once they have a smattering of English, their fortunes are made, as brokers and rogues.

An unfortunate French vessel, in 1819, scarcely experienced any better treatment at Cape Coast Castle itself, than did those English ships recorded by Bosman. The captain shewed me some of his "brass pan" trash, mixed with good gold; and I believe he weighed anchor from the Cape earlier on that account. Some English captains have also been duped by the same artifice, in my time; and I am justified in saying, that some of the whites are in the practice of procuring sophisticated metal from the natives, which they mix with current gold dust already alloyed, and pass off upon strangers and foreigners, as occasion may offer. Indeed, those who were the least implicated in the fraud, perhaps, had boxes containing two separate qualities of metal, the one (designed for the London market) sifted, or blown, as it is called, out of the other, which is reserved for the unwary and unsuspecting. Indeed I had a practical knowledge of these truths, for I suffered a loss of four ounces of gold, shortly after landing, by the same deception. The term fraud, in application to the latter instance, may perhaps sound harsh; for certainly there is a great distinction in the nature of the two offences, where one man makes a secret trade of the commodity, and the other merely gets rid of an article to the best profit, which may have come into his possession in a fair course of trade.

What is no less obnoxious to the true interests of Great Britain, and of course equally detrimental to the mercantile interests of individuals, they practise, besides gold frauds, others, such as watering the rum, and then restoring its pungency with Mallaguetta, Chili, and other peppers; pulverizing charcoal, and sifting the granulated particles, which they intermix with the gunpowder; and various tricks besides, in which, it is degrading to confess, they were not only countenanced, but imitated by the whites. The king (of Ashantee) is no stranger to these peculating intrigues, for he assured me that his own purchases, coming from the governor's store-room, were alike adulterated; but he innocently attributed the whole of the cheat to the people of Cape Coast.

The French nation, enterprizing and renowned in its commercial relations with the colonies of the East and West Indies, and with Africa itself, as regards the reigning dynasty, I am inclined to believe reaps as much or more solid benefit from its system of intercourse with strangers, than any other European nation, however commercial, speculative, and enterprizing. The acknowledged vivacity and courtesy of this renowned and gallant people may in some degree contribute to banish scruples, and establish the necessary confidence; but those qualifications alone would certainly be insufficient to promote their relations, to the extent at which they have been seen to flourish. Looking to Africa only, it will be apparent, that at Senegal, which is of little local value, as compared with a station on the gold coast, they have pushed their trade to a far greater distance inland, than any other European power, not exempting even the Portuguese in the southern hemisphere; and they journey by land to their factory at Galam, on the river, with as much safety, probably, as they would travel from Marseilles to Paris; for the native kings and princes of those parts are either strictly in alliance with them, upon terms of mutual interest, or they are bound down by treaties which they rarely violate; for their interests are, moreover, consulted, in the payment of annual presents, consisting of the manufactured goods of France, such as cutlery, cloth, powder, &c. all which are stipulated for in these covenants, and written down in the Arabic language.

Thus, moreover, they are permitted to count on the defensive alliance of the Trassart, Braknart, and other Arab tribes who inhabit that part of the desert between the Senegal river and Portendic, as also occasionally in the south, in the kingdom of Cayor, and the tribes adjacent, as far, may be, as within a few journies of the Gambia.

Fairs or markets might be established on the Gold Coast, upon the prevailing principle of trade throughout Africa. It is not for us to change long established maxims, commercial confidences, and rooted prejudices of such notoriety, but to conform to the customs of the countries in which we live,

(surely as long as they have a tendency to promote our interest,) and reconcile ourselves to those reasonable systems of traffic upon which the native reposes his faith, either in the shape of barter, as the Arabs and Africans of the Desert, of Numidia, and even of many parts of Mauritania itself conduct it, or in gold and cowries, as the natives of Wangara are in the practice of dealing. A weekly, or perhaps monthly fair of this description, at the settlements, would have no tendency to interrupt the course of trade at other intervals; and it could not fail, when known and confided in at Coomassy, if properly conducted, supported, and persevered in, to be made known to the inland nations, as far as the Koara at least; and the natives of those parts, if we were upon terms of friendship with the king of Ashantee, would, it is probable, be permitted to resort to the sea coast, to purchase of every commodity, save and except guns and powder; or if that were not permitted, (as I entertain little doubt it would) the Ashantees themselves would take the same commodities, and dispose of them again at their own markets, to the traders who come from Salgha, Yandy, Daboya, and other parts of the north and east.

I have hitherto suggested nothing for the more orderly and more profitable regulation of trade; for I have hitherto been scrupulous about intruding my conceptions upon the province of the legislature. I cannot avoid thinking, that by the practice of a judicious system, such as the French adopted when Canada belonged to that nation, it would conduce to establish the fundamental principle of all fellowship and intercourse—confidence. That once accomplished, would render all the attempts of the maritime natives to defraud, nugatory; for instead of placing the broker paramount, it would reduce him to his natural level, as an auxiliary, and not a dictatorial dependent. The commerce of Barbary is regulated by daily or weekly markets;—for instance, Morocco, Fez, Algiers, and Tunis. Eastward of those places, as far as the Persian Gulf, the practice is the same. In the deserts, and upon the shores of the Niger; in Dagomba, Killinga,

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A Man & Woman of Banna.

Haoussa, and Marroa,' &c. the natives, whether Arabs or Ethiopians, know no other medium of intercourse, or they give their confidence to no other. The whites, however, must first set the example of probity, then rigorously enforce it, as their influence may admit; and in lieu of suffering the inland trader to take up his abode at the broker's house, his independence ought to be provided for by a public bazaar or inn, free of cost, and adequate to shelter him and his effects, during his stay upon the coast. The Dutch come nigher to the feelings of the inland natives than ourselves, but they might find room for improving their system of commerce also.

CHAPTER IX.

SOUDAN.

ANCIENT AFRICA—DERIVATION OF THE NAME—THE GHARB—SOUDAN—TRADITIONS—INROADS OF THE OCEAN—NAMES GIVEN BY THE ARABS—ANCIENT POPULATION—IGNORANCE AND INDIFFERENCE OF THE PAGANS—GREAT DIVISIONS OF AFRICA, SOUTH OF THE DESERT—GHUNJA—SAREM—DAGOMBA—GANOWA—BAMBARA—FILLANY—MARROA—KILLINGA—HAOUSSA—YARRABA—THE NIGER—SHARY—GHULBY—CAPTAIN LAING'S OBSERVATIONS—DESCRIPTION OF ROUTES MARKED ON THE MAP—JEWS OF SOUDAN—TRAVELS OF THE ASHANTEES—PRIVILEGES OF MOSLEM TRAVELLERS—CURRENT COIN—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Of all the various names given by the ancients to that vast continent we now call Africa, those of Lybia and Ethiopia appear to have been the most generally adopted; and, perhaps, the most comprehensive in relation to the whole peninsula, as far as actual knowledge, or imagination prescribed its limits: for it is not to be supposed that Africa beyond the equator was ever known either to the Carthaginians, Romans, Greeks, or Vandals, except from vague reports; circulated for the most part through the channels of upper Egypt, Judea, and the districts of Hejaz and Yaman, in Arabia, nighest to the opposite shores of the sister continent. This, at least, may be inferred from the want of records to prove a contrary fact, in regard, specifically, to the

distant inland parts, and the mode of traversing those regions, as practised by the Arabs and Moslem Africans of the present age. It is a truth not unprofitable to pause at here, that the religion propagated by Mohammed is, of all other doctrines ancient or modern, sacred or profane, the only one which insures safety to its votaries among the savage hords of Lybia; and therefore, it would seem, that the ancients, for opposite reasons, never could traverse even the deserts with that security which their posterity enjoy. We are told, that so early as six hundred or six hundred and four years before the birth of Christ, the limits of the continent were, in some rude degree, known to the Egyptians, from an actual voyage of circumnavigation, performed in the reign, and by order of Pharoah Necho, monarch of Egypt; that these ships, we may suppose a fleet, departed from the Red Sea, (perhaps the port of Suez) doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the westernmost projections of the land in the north Atlantic Ocean, and Cape Spartel, at the mouth of the Straits, returning to the shores of the Nile, by the way of the Mediterranean sea. The respectable authority from whence this has emanated, scarcely leaves room to hazard a doubt upon the subject; yet many may, notwithstanding, feel inclined to disbelieve it; according to the various objections that might be urged in refutation of the probability, that such frail barks as were constructed by the ancients should be adequate to a voyage of that magnitude in unknown seas, and in comparatively high southern latitude; where the turbulent character of the elements so rigorously beset the Portuguese in after ages, that in commemoration of their sufferings, the headland, now the Cape of Good Hope, was anathematized by the appellation of Stormy, or the Cape of Storms. But admitting that the same class of vessels, which were capable of navigating all parts of the Mediterranean and Red Seas, were alike calculated to navigate the ocean, still there would be room for doubts connected with the manner in which these mariners supported life; for they could hardly have carried with them preserved flesh, corn, or dates sufficient to last them out the voyage; and if the old Africans were disposed as the moderns are, and have been for generations past, these

voyagers could not presume to effect a landing unless their numbers were sufficient to preserve them from becoming the slaves of the natives.

Dismissing the train of unavailing conjectures this might lead to, it may not be amiss to notice what the Arabs say in relation to the etymology of the word Africa; for they pretend to give a clear explicit account of its derivation. In the first place it is a term acknowledged to be of Arabian extraction, as indeed its sound implies; although its etymology has been, by many, so vaguely handled. The most important in the list of European reasonings, and one which, in fact, conveys an air of some plausibility, is, that it derived its name from a certain Arabian King called Ifraki or Ifriki, who fled before an Assyrian army into Egypt, and from thence into the deserts of Barca; but finding no sustenance for his followers, and their herds of cattle, he sent out scouts westward towards the Cyrenaica, or perhaps the Tripolitana, who shortly afterwards returned with the joyful tidings of land fit for pasture and tillage. This tradition, which I must confess I never heard of, is intended to combine, jointly, not only the derivation of the word Africa, but of Barbary also, notwithstanding its actual distance from these Lybian deserts, or from the ancient Syrtis, now called the Gulf of Sidra, which separates the Tripolitana from the Cyrenaica. To this effect, it is added, that when the fertile districts were discovered, the scouts impatiently rushed into the presence of their sovereign, crying out *ber ber*, signifying in Arabic, land, land; and from that it derived a name, which, by the Romans, when they became acquainted with the country, was softened down with a Latin termination to their own liking, into the word Berberia, or something resembling the sound of that combination; and which we, claiming, naturally, the same privilege, have again corrupted to Barbary.

If it be inquired of a modern Arab by what name he distinguishes the continent of Africa, he will perhaps say there is no specific name for it, by reason that there are many regions in the southern hemisphere, which are entirely unknown to us; but that since his countrymen became masters of the land now enjoyed by their posterity, those great districts have been jointly

distinguished by the appellation of Al Gharb, or Maghariba, signifying the western land, in relation to its bearing from Arabia and Syria, the focus of empire under the primitive Khalifs, whose arms were so ably carried to the margin of the Atlantic Ocean; the waters of the setting sun. Gharb (which is comparatively a modern name) he would again subdivide, for the different sections, calling the land and deserts westward of the Nile, comprehending the whole Cyrenaica and the Lybian desert down to the ancient Syrtis and southward as far as the present kingdom of Fezzan, Magharib Mokribi, or the *First Division West*. This is perhaps a more explicit name than Afrikia (from Mafroka), but both are well understood as relating to this great tract. The westernmost boundary of the old Tripolitana, properly so called, and the old Carthageniensis, including the present Bashalics of Tunis and Algier, and the vice-regency of Tenez, embracing also part of Telmsen on the line of coast, and south as far perhaps as the old Roman garrisons of Tuggert, or Worgala, in or on the desert confines, would be distinguished as Maghareb al Wasat, (al Ouast) or the *Middlemost, or Central West*; and Moghareb al Woasa, the *Furthermost West*, if he were a native of the western Mauritania, would be the name by which he would describe his own country.

The deserts, also, are divided simply in this manner, for the word Sahara, which is desert, does not imply any particular district, and is equally applicable to any sterile spot in Arabia, or elsewhere.

Soudan from اسود Aswad, (black) is a general and vague appellation in use among the Arabs and northern African tribes, as relating particularly to those nations which border the left bank of the Niger, although not exclusively so, for they as frequently apply the term in a far more comprehensive sense, whereby they include the whole of tropical Africa known to them; and it may consequently be translated with the greatest propriety *the Land of Negroes*, or *Black People*, for that is simply the meaning, and no other*.

* If what may be described with the greatest simplicity, suitable to the understandings of all men, is also the most beautiful, as many are inclined to believe, these names of the Arabs are not to be called trifling.

Like the word Caffreria, which is a corruption of the Arabic Kauferau, a term in use among the Arabs of the sixth and seventh centuries, it is (although not of the reproachful character of the latter, which implies "the land of infidels") somewhat contemptuous in signification, as it then stigmatized the southern tribes indiscriminately as an inferior order of the creation, of whom many about that period, and since the wars of the Arabs upon the "Bahar Soudan" Niger, have embraced the Korannic faith and incorporated themselves with their conquerors.

The Moslems of Haoussa, Killinga, and Dagomba, however, as also some of the desert tribes in the west, use Soudan as a generic and proper name, by which they describe certain very extensive tracts inland. The name, according to the signification given by the Arabs, is perfectly familiar to them, and in conversation with foreigners they use it, by adoption; but still they reject it in their geography, as a term of a vague and indefinite importance, which is truly the case. Soudan is the name given by the Wangara Moslems in general, and particularly by those of Ashantee, to that great strip of land stretching away east and west along the parallels of the desert, and the great central rivers and waters from Bambarra in the west to Bornou in the east. These regions they again subdivide into two parts, calling the first Kably or Soudan; Kably in reference to its greater approximation to the Kabla of the city of Mecca (the east) and the latter Gharby, or Soudan Gharby, from its bearing west, towards the regions of the setting sun. Some also make a third division of Soudan, "beyond the waters," and this they call Wastany Wasat, or Soudan al Wastany, signifying simply Middlemost Soudan.

Beside these principal divisions, they allow of another Soudan in the more central parts of the continent, below the southernmost provinces and kingdoms of the Bornou empire, on the south bank of the Shady; and this they call Soudan Dakhlala; a term which they admit to be vague, and which I conceive to be synonimous with interior Ethiopia, for its meaning is strictly interior Soudan.

Africa, according to traditions I have oftentimes heard repeated by Arabs

(for the Berrebers, or mountain Africans, know little of the matter), is the old name, somewhat corrupted, by which the land beyond Nile westwards was called by their ancestors, many ages before the birth of Christ, and probably long before they had any practical knowledge of its internal features. This original name, as they pronounce it, was Al Mafroka, the disunited, or divided land; implying as the general opinion goes, that it was cut off from the continent of Asia by the course of the Nile from south to north; for the eastern geographers, it is well known, included all that tract of land bounded on the east by the Arabian gulf, and on the west by the river Nile, under the head of Asia.

Another tradition, which however is not so popular, gives it the name ascribed to it, not from the separation of the land by the course of the Nile; but from the division caused by the Red Sea; from whence, they say, the ancient Arabs named the opposite shore Mafroka, the disjointed or broken land, because they believed the waters to have concentrated there after the deluge subsided; or that they preserved the tradition of a subsequent rush of the Indian ocean, whereby the Almighty inflicted a heavy chastisement for the transgressions of certain tribes in the Hajaz, or stony Arabia, whose loss may be found on record in the Koran itself.

Although, as I before remarked, the Berreber tribes know so little of these traditions, it is a singular truth that they are firmly persuaded that the African continent originally joined that of Europe in the west, where the Herculean pillars now stand; and also, that in the same early age, the land of Mauritania projected a considerable number of leagues more in the Atlantic Ocean than it now does. No one presumes, however, to account for the age it happened in; except as they vaguely narrate, that since the universal deluge the sea broke in upon the land where the straits of Gibraltar now exist, and spread its waves around to the extent it now does; sweeping into the abyss myriads of human beings, with their cattle, and habitations; burying all but the summits of the highest land, which, together with the tops of mountains, are still to be seen under the semblance of islands scattered over the surface

of the water. The Arabs and Asiatics in general shew no great respect to this mountain tale; yet it is worthy of remark, that when the early Moslem tribes carried their victorious arms to that part of the Spanish coast opposite the Tingitana *, the fortunate generals, in pursuing the system of naming the conquered territory, as caprice or accident might dictate, without respect to the names by which the Spaniards themselves called them, any more than they had heretofore respected the old African names of places (excepting, however, where the Atlas, and other mountainous ridges bid defiance to their encroachment,) adopted the African legend, as it agrees with several capes and head-lands, as Trafalgar and Algezeiras, called by those people Terf al Gharb, and Al Zeira, or Jazeira, implying part of the Gharb, or Mauritania, and its island, are expressive of the credit given to the tradition by the old Africans, literally, and perhaps by the Asiatics, figuratively.

Here, indeed, the imagination might wander into a labyrinth, but which could lead no where beyond unprofitable conjecture. That the world has been more than once buried under water, totally or partially, the accounts of other lands, or the geological researches in our own, might induce some to conjecture in opposition to chronology, sacred or profane. If we were to consider the subject of any real importance, and that some hypothesis must necessarily be established, this great influx of water eastward might be associated with the effect produced by the inclination of the currents of the North Atlantic Ocean, from their vital source of action in the Gulf or Straits of Florida. This, again, might lead to a supposition, if any one were inclined to speculate so far, that the New World, as it is called, (the Continent of America) has been justly so named, or at least, that some mighty revolution in nature, caused (if it ever was the case) the separation of the two continents, Europe and Africa, and gave the name of Inland, or Between-land Sea, to the water that now divides

* This happened in the reign of the Khalifa Walid ben Abdalmalek the 6th sovereign of the dynasty called Bani Ommeya (Ommiade) who governed the empire about ten years and six months, namely, till the year of Christ 715.

them, as its modern name implies in the Arabic, as well as the languages of past and present times in Europe.

It is a popular notion of the modern Africans, as well those of Barbary as the natives of Sarem, Ghunja, and Dagombah, that the original influx of inhabitants came from the east, some time after Misraim, the son of Ham, founded the empire of Egypt; which event took place, according to our own chronology, 2188 years before the birth of Christ, and 160 years after Noah's embarkation.

In quoting the authority of Ashantees, and other natives of Guinea, it is invariably to be considered, as relating to African Moslems, born in those parts; for the unlettered heathen is so decidedly ignorant and disinterested about researches into past ages, that I will venture to affirm, if he should pretend to describe any thing remote, it will only be with a view to impose upon the credulity of the enquirer; for his ordinary replies even to the most simple question regarding the custom of a neighbouring tribe or nation, is, *How can I tell? I am not of that country, and I never was there to see;* and so he drops a subject that would fatigue his understanding, because it neither gives him pleasure, nor is likely to be productive of advantage. In fact, it would almost warrant the assertion, that the negro is qualified with knowledge only that he exists, and that he must one day die. If questioned about his ancestors, he can only affirm, with the same simplicity, they lived, and they are dead. And as regards the creation of the world, its political changes, or any of the records of sacred or profane history, if it did not put the muscles of his face in motion, to be asked such a question by a white man, he would at least mildly say, *Enquire of the Moslems, who pray to the great God, and hold strong fetish; they know these things, and more: they can tell you; but I am ignorant.* I speak this upon the most satisfactory information, namely, a practical knowledge of the habits of indolence, ignorance, and superstition by which their faculties are obscured, and their understandings bewildered; for during the many trials I made at Ashantee, and upon the Coast, without casting in the scale my Barbary experience, every attempt failed me, even in the most trivial

enquiries, to elicit information from the Pagan, either directly, or through his interpretation; for they are equally given to misrepresent facts, if they imagine the recital will amuse; added to which, their very limited knowledge of European dialects is another insuperable obstacle to the attainment, through their agency, of any, even the most superficial knowledge whatever. This truth is grafted upon my mind so positively, that it must be confessed I have but little respect for books whose authors have compiled them upon negro authority.

Africa south of the Desert is divided into many important sections or districts, by which certain tracts of land are characterized and known to the natives of remote countries, who, perhaps, never heard mention of the kingdoms they contain. Those familiar to my informers were Ghunja, Sarem, Dagomba, Ganowa, Bambara, Fillany, Marroa, Killinga, Haoussa, and Yarraba.

These great sections, all within the Torrid Zone, extend east and west from about 7° of west longitude, to 12° east, or thereabout, and from the shores of the Gulf to the 17th or 18th parallel of north latitude.

Ghunja, collectively, contains the empires of Ashantee and Dahomy, exclusive of Gaman in the west, and Banna in the north. The western boundary of this section is the River Tando, and eastward it stretches away as far as the Lagos river. Its southern base upon the line of coast, may therefore be computed at five hundred geographic miles, in which is included the military and commercial establishments of all the European nations who traffic in Guinea. Upon the 8th parallel of latitude, it is more contracted, and does not probably exceed three hundred and eighty miles; yet here it occupies twenty days to traverse from its eastern to its western confines, and sixteen from north to south.

Sarem is separated from the former by the River Tando; yet its eastern limit northward of Coransah, is the Aswadah river. It stretches away westerly, *as far as the land that projects into the sea,* (doubtless, Cape Palmas.) This land they call البر بحري, (Al bir Bahooree) the maritime country,

(west,) and which it is probable Mr. Bowdich mistook for a kingdom so called, as he has assigned a position to Bahooree, (the sea-coast) between the 8th and 9th parallels of latitude, behind Gaman. Sarem contains the kingdoms of Gaman, the tract of land known by the name of the Ivory Coast, Banna, Takima, Soko, Ghofan, Enkasi, and Kong. There is no town called Sarem, but the district so named is about five hundred and thirty or five hundred and forty miles in extent, from east to west, and it occupies full thirty-six days to traverse from limit to limit. From north to south it may be about three hundred and seventy miles in extent; for it also requires twenty-four stages to traverse it in that direction. Sarem is environed on the east by Dagomba; south, by Ghunja; north, by the Manding country; and west, or north-west, by the mountainous district of Ganowa.

Yarraba is the greatest in extent among these southern sections. Its boundaries are, on the north, Killinga; on the east, unknown districts of the Soudan, called Dakhlata; on the west, Ghunja and Dagomba; on the south, Benin and Waree. It is said to occupy the traveller forty days, in traversing from east to west; but its extent north and south I cannot speak of with any certainty; however, it may possibly spread as many as four hundred and sixty geographic miles, reckoning from the southernmost provinces of the kingdom of Bargho, in Killinga, to the land which runs parallel with Cape Formosa.

Killinga, which is a district of great political and natural importance in central Africa, is not inferior in extent to any of these southern departments, Sarem and Yarraba excepted. It has for its boundaries, Fillany, on the north-west; the Koara, Marroa, and Haoussa, on the north and north-east; the kingdom of Yakoo, and the Soudan Dakhlata, east; Yarraba and Dagomba, south and south-west. The Ghulby river flows through the heart of it; and beside the kingdom and principalities of Kambah and Maury, it contains those of Zogho, Baman, Wawa, Kandashy, &c. The population of Killinga is reckoned to exceed in numbers that of any other district of an equal surface; and the inhabitants, who, for the most part, are

Moslems, are considered the most opulent people of any in the south. It may be reckoned, indeed, that the districts of the east, namely, Haoussa, Killinga, and Yarraba, are in a comparative state of civilization, and that they enjoy, moreover, the metallic riches of the earth, which the nations of the west, who in turn become masters of the Wangara mines, pour into these countries as fast as the precious metal can be collected, and which is only, as it would seem, held in trust for the public good, at the expence of much blood, and a barbarous system of rapine and extortion.

Ganowa is a district bearing north, inclining west from Sarem, which is its boundary on the south, as is also Bambara on the north, the kingdom of Melly, and part of Dagomba, on the east. Its surface is, for the most part, hilly or mountainous, particularly in the west. It is a district known only to the western Moslems, who journey from Kong, Enkasy, and Manding, to the Jolliba at Bammakoo, to Kaarta, Woled, Omar, (the Ludmar of Park) and the Desert.

The kingdom of Melly, which lies to the southward of Bambara, and between that district and Dagomba, is also by some rated among these sections, as one of equal celebrity, in proportion to its size, and equally ancient as the rest, over which, however, it has the advantage of having preserved its original political influence in those parts, and which, consequently, still entitles it to the rank of kingdom.

Bambara is that district whose western limits the unfortunately renowned Mungo Park traversed, in his journeys to the Niger. Its ancient metropolis is Sego, pronounced Sago and Sagho; but it has now many cities, as well Moslem as Heathen, of equal importance. Its boundaries are the Great Desert, Massina, and Beroo north; Fillany, east; Dagomba, Manding, and Melly, south; Kaarta and the Foulah country, west.

Fillany is also a district of much importance in the features of African geography. The Niger runs through the heart of it, and it is watered by many other large navigable streams, connected with that river, both in the northern and southern shores. Its boundaries are Marroa on the north east,

Killinga on the south east, Magho on the south, Bambara on the west, and the Desert on the north west. It is considered also an extensive tract, and as my informers supposed (although erroneously) was tributary to Ismaelia, or the empire of Morocco. That it was conquered by the Arabian arms and colonized by those people is well authenticated by the annals of Barbary. The Moslems of Guinea also, admit the fact; they are aware too that the Arabs have been progressively driven backward upon the deserts, and many of their conquests wrested from them by the heathens (a catastrophe which they religiously deplore); yet they persist in saying, that tribute is exacted, from the people of those parts, in the name of the Sheriffe of Mauritania, whoever he may be. Fillany, it is but a reasonable conjecture, derived its name from the province of Taffilet, behind the Atlas mountains eastward, from whence all the Mauritanian armaments issued, prior to the Mahadi dynasty, and the building of the imperial city of Morocco in the Mauritania, properly so called; and, indeed, where the camps and caravans yet assemble preparatory to their departure for the east or south.

Fillany, as relating to Taffilet, is perfectly synonimous with it, although coinciding with the African mode of assimilating the land to the name of its tribes. Thus the tribes of Taffilet are indiscriminately called Fillany, exactly as the other is pronounced and spelt in the Arabic character. Concerning the tribute, which they affirm is still collected in the name of the Sheriffe, and remitted to him by land, across the desert, I think I may venture to affirm, that not an atom of the money ever reaches the treasury of that prince. Perhaps, it may be employed to subsidize some of the neighbouring Arab tribes, and for state reasons it is still denominated *heddia* (tribute or donation) as heretofore, when the emperors of Morocco were powerful enough to exact their claim by force of arms, whenever their colonists in Soudan were remiss in their payments.

The celebrated city of Timbuctoo, or Tombuctoo as it is better known, still enjoys a supremacy in Fillany, notwithstanding those of Taslima, Jennie,

and Wakwari, are esteemed larger, and more populous; it is therefore called the head, or metropolis of that district.

Marroa, a district that joins Fillany in the south west, Haoussa in the south east, the Koara south, and the desert at opposite points of the compass, is known only to occupy a somewhat remote although central position between Fillany and Haoussa; its limits I do not presume otherwise to describe. The land hereabouts is deemed a sort of African paradise, and the population is proportionably great; numerous streams intersect the plains, some of which are of great magnitude, rolling volumes of water southerly or easterly to the Niger.

This district, and some of the eastern provinces of Fillany, were originally subdued by the Arabs, at a very early period. The Moslems of Ashantee relate many traditions concerning the early wars of the Arabians, when they turned their arms beyond the desert, the most prominent of which relates to an invading army, sent by one of the Viceroys of Cairowan, during the dynasty of Bani Abbas; somewhere about the hejyran year 180, which corresponds with that of our own era 796. These wars were of many years duration, and the "sacred" volume made an effectual impression on this part of Soudan by the vigorous efforts of the old Arabs, under several successive Khalifs of that dynasty, from the magnificent Haroun al Raschid to the reign of that celebrated prince of the dynasty called Fathemia, Moez al din Allah, who was lineally descended from the great reformer Mahadi.

A very intelligent Moslem, a native of Nikky, named Jelelly ben Shoam, who sometimes took a leading part in these historical conversations, affirmed that Moez, as soon as he had seated himself upon the Egyptian throne, directed the whole force of the Khalifat against eastern Soudan, which he ravaged with fire and sword, extending the law (Koran) to kingdoms of idolaters, that were hitherto unknown to the Arabs. When the general, whom he called Abdallah ben Iyak, had effected a passage for the army down to the Koara, he distributed his forces into several divisions, forming them into

naval armaments with which he ravaged many of the central kingdoms, overaweing others, and inducing many powerful sovereigns to renounce their diabolical superstitions for a religion of "purity and peace." This, which appears to have been the first great effort of the Arabs beyond the Niger, succeeded beyond all human calculation, and for many ages after, perhaps until the destruction of the Khalifat itself, by the Tartar Holagul, tribute was punctually remitted to the Mediterranean shores, to Cairoan, Mehedia, Cairo, or Damascus; cities whose former renown still delights the ears and imaginations of these Ethiopian converts, as it does those of the present generation of Arabs.

Marroa was thus early reduced to the form of a province, dependent upon the vice royalty of Cairoan, with which it was so far incorporated as to be colonized by a population of Arabs, who made that district a sort of head quarters, or rendezvous for the caravans, to and from the central Gharb; or that tract of land comprehended between the Tingitana and the Cyrenaica. The virtue or efficacy of camels and horses is still venerated in proportion to the *religious* part they bore in the wars against their idolatrous ancestors; for both these valuable animals were introduced by these Arabs, or at least they were not known south of the Niger, until the Arab supremacy preponderated on that river, and their influence extended as far as the Ghulby.

Haoussa is a district of no less importance than either Marroa or Fillany. It is an extensive tract of land, stretching easterly from these two districts, as far as Rakka or Kano. The Desert is its northern boundary, and Killinga and the Koara river its southern. It is reckoned eighteen journies, or about three hundred miles horizontal, from east to west; and may be as many more from north to south. Youry is a powerful kingdom of this district, together with several others of less magnitude, as Konbash, Garanti, and Yandoto, the whole of which are tributary to the sultan who rules in Kassina.

This district shared the fate of the others, when the Arabs lorded it over the Niger, and it still contains a remnant of the conqueror's posterity, who having escaped a certain great persecution of the believers, when the Arab

garrisons were driven to the deserts, obtained permission to establish a form of government among themselves, according to their respective tribes and kindred. The Arab population of these parts is now estimated at four large tribes, or about two hundred and fifty thousand souls. Haoussa is described to be of great wealth, luxuriant, and populous. Beside the Koara, many large navigable streams intersect the land, and a constant and free communication, by water, exists between its chief cities and those of Bornou, Yarraba, Benin, Fillany and Marroa. Independent of this traffick, a more remote intercourse by caravans is maintained, under limitations, with the tribes or hordes of Desert Arabs, with Azben, Ferjan, (or Fezzan,) and even with Egypt. Its boundaries, as given to me by the Bashaw of Coomassy, are the Desert and Jekky north; the Koara south; Noufy east; and Marroa west.

Dagomba is a district separating Ghunja from Bambara and Fillany, and Sarem from Yarraba and Killinga. It is also highly populous, the land mostly champaign, and well cultivated. Yandy, the chief city, is said to be at least four times as extensive as the capital of Ashantee. The length of this district, from north to south, is about two hundred miles; and from east to west nearly three hundred and thirty. Yandy enjoys great celebrity all over the African continent for its riches and its manufactures. The natives are, moreover, highly enterprising and commercial, and they maintain a constant communication with the neighbouring kingdoms; but particularly so with Haoussa and Sarem, for the conveniency of whose traffick their city becomes a depôt, and a periodical mart, as well for their own manufactures as for those of Fezzan, Egypt, Smyrna, &c., as also for slaves, gold, and ivory, collected in and upon the confines of Wangara. Its distance from Coomassy is but twenty-two days; yet the Ashantees rarely venture so far from home, unless under the escort and protection of a Moslem.

This district, says the Bashaw, was never subject to the depredations of the Arabs, yet in former ages, when the spirit of religious enterprise existed in full vigour among the Moslem nations of east and west Soudan, the powers on the Niger, and their auxiliaries ravaged many of the eastern

kingdoms; and the navigation of both the Ghulby and Koara, were almost exclusively under Arabian controul. Even that great section Yarraba submitted to Korannic jurisdiction, or was compelled to receive laws from the Moslems of Haoussa, Marroa, and Fillany, whose preponderating influence, from time to time, affected more or less every kingdom down almost to the shores of the Atlantic, or that tract which collectively is termed Wangara. The particular period to which these traditions refer, nearly corresponds with the year of Christ 1200; for the prevailing belief is, that the Moslem arms were every where successful, up to this time; and their religion, indeed, still gained rapidly over the continent until the commencement of the seventh Hejyran century, when civil dissentions crept into the state and engaged the tribes to war with each other, in opposition to the denunciations of the Koran, and that ostensible maxim of policy which should have harmonized their councils for the preservation of their political and religious footing amidst tribes so barbarous and warlike.

As enemies, the Arabs are said never, at any time, to have penetrated beyond Nikky, which is thirteen days south of the Koara. Two of the most powerful sovereigns in that neighbourhood, namely those of Magho and Dzogho embraced their creed by invitation, and deputed ambassadors to the Arabian head-quarters tendering their submission.

The names of these sections refer particularly to the Moslem system of geography; from whom, in all probability, they derive an exclusive origin, as the Ashantees know them, it would seem, through the agency of the Moslems; and the Fantees know nothing about the matter; but on the contrary say, "We don't know that; it is the Crammo's (Moslems) talk." It is presumed, however, that the information is of importance, for these names are commonly known to every Moslem nation in Africa.

The Moslems of Kong and Manding commonly used the term Wangara, as relating to Ashantee, Dahomy, and Benin, east of the Formosa. Of the Niger, well known to them by its Bambara name Joliba, they reported to this effect; that it has its source in a chain of mountains which bears west, and

something north of the capital of Kong, from whence it is distant eighteen journies. According to this estimation I conceive, its fountain may exist in about 11° 15′ latitude north, and 7° 10′ longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich. The intermediate space comprises a part of the district called Ganowa, inhabited by the Manding and Falah (Foulah) tribes. The surface for the first five or six days, they relate, is inclining to hilly, yet it is by no means abrupt; and forests alternately abound, but they are not so impervious as those of Ashantee. After the first hundred miles, the traveller commences ascending a cluster of lofty mountains, and this labour occupies him six days. The mountains abound in rivers and rapid torrents, which discharge themselves on the opposite sides into the Jolliba, and further to the westward they are so high and steep that no man can ascend to their summits; which are barren, bleak, and oftentimes covered with snow. They are inhabited about half way up by ferocious tribes of cannibals. The source of the river lies about two days distant up the mountains; and is distant from Coomassy thirty-eight journies, or about five hundred British miles horizontal.

The river in the neighbourhood, at the head of the mountains, is a small rapid stream full of cataracts, which foam over a bed of rocky ground, where it would not be possible to float a canoe. It flows on to a considerable distance among the valleys and broken ground until it has cleared the mountains, which it leaves far to the south, as it explores a channel on the plains of Melly. On the confines of Bambara it is already a large river, occasioned by the junction of many other rivers of almost equal magnitude and whose sources are in these mountains. It passes Yamina, Safana, and Sago, to Massina and Jenny; beyond which it spreads into a large lake, called Bahar Dibber, or the Sea of Ghimbaba. The Dibber is very large, and in the season of rain the land on the opposite side, although high, is not discernible. Beyond Jenny the river, at the opposite outlet of the lake, inclines to the north till it reaches Timbuctoo. From thence its track is easterly to Ghou, having then traversed the district of Fillany. From Ghou it enters Marroa, passing through Corimen, Kaby, and Zanberma, as it

inclines with a southerly fall to the Youry, and the lake of Noufy. From Youry the river inclines south-east, passing the cities of Noufy, Homan, and Magamy, in the form of a great sea, which has several outlets to the south, and three great branches which communicate with the Shady on the east. From the Shady the river flows, under its new name, to Gambaro, after having passed Haoussa, Rakka, Yakoo, and Kano. From Gambaro it sweeps a little to the southward of Bornou, Ghotta, and Arkani, till it enters Bagharmy, where it forms a junction with the Nile of Egypt. Its course beyond this is through Kordofan, Foor, Wady, Sennar, Nubia, &c. On the confines of Habesh, (Abyssinia) it again spreads into a large sea, and its channel receives the tributary waters of innumerable rivers of the largest size, of which that called Shary, between Foor and Wady, is best known from its situation in the land of believers. Indeed, this is the substance of what was advanced by the Moslems, as well from the east as the west, natives of Sarem, Dagomba, and Ghunja; or inhabitants of the banks of the Ghulby and Koara. Briefly, they would say, the great sea flows to Egypt, and the little one to the salt sea, from whence you came, (the Guinea Gulf,) but they are both united at Noufy.

The Ghulby is said to flow also easterly upon a parallel with the Koara itself, which it joins, as has been related, in Haoussa. Admitting this to be the case, its source may be considered somewhat conjectural. In truth there was a diversity of opinion upon this topic, some maintaining that its fountain existed in the chain of mountains before mentioned, between Kong and the river Ahmar; whilst others affirmed that the Ghulby itself was a branch separated from the Koara by a ridge of mountains, in the vicinity of Janny; and that the navigation of this southern limb was open and unobstructed from Janny to Ghoroma, the capital of Magho, through Konbory. Perhaps the latter was the prevailing opinion. All my informers were ignorant of the rivers called in Park's map, Ba Nimma, Maniana, Ba, and Moosica: of these names that of Maniana alone was familiar to them as a nation of

idolatrous mountaineers; behind Kong, and subject to the sovereign of Manding, who was a Moslem. Yet the route to Sego, on the Niger, by the way of Banna, Ghofan, and Baddin, leads to a great river or sea, running also easterly, and distant from the Jolliba but four or five days. This river is named the Yasser.

In reference to the source of the Niger, it was published in a London paper, of the 14th of January, 1823; that Captain Laing, (the gentleman who has recently returned from the Gold Coast with official dispatches of the late disasters in that quarter) saw the hill during his mission to the interior, "where the Niger (called Timbie) springs. The river flowing on from the hill of Loma in 9° 15′ north latitude, and 9° 36′ west longitude, marks the boundary between Sangara and Joolimani, the former bearing to the right of east, and the latter to the left of west. The geographical scite of Loma was ascertained by taking the bearings of two points, and from the well known accuracy of Captain Laing, there can be no doubt of the observations being correct." This officer started on the 16th April, and returned the 29th October.

The rout from Ghofan to that part of the Niger, which is in the vicinity of Sago or Sego, takes through the kingdoms of Ghobagho, Kasogho, and Safany, the latter of which is tributary to Melly, another kingdom westward, of greater power than either of the others; and which is separated from the Manding states (most of whom pay a tribute to it notwithstanding,) by a chain of high mountains called Jibbel Kaunagh, probably the same mountains observed by Park from the Niger. The chief towns on this route, after crossing the desert, are Lankantira, Katary, Botintasy, and Daboya the capital of Ghobagho. The route from thence inclines to the NNW. taking through the towns of Denkary, Bonough, Bouasa, Cabary, and Yaba (a city of greater extent than Salgha). From Yaba the traveller proceeds through several other towns, which are marked on the map and described in the manuscript, until he alights on the banks of a great river, called by the

natives of those parts Bahar Yasser.* At this station, to which I have assigned the latitude and longitude of 12° 50′ north and 2° west, it is usual for the traveller to stop several days at a city of some magnitude, called Borma from the island on which it is seated. Kow, which is a city of great magnitude in Safany, is distant from the Yasser river one easy journey, and from Kow to Sago, in a direction still inclining to the westward of north, it is no more than four journies. The usual track pursued by the traders from Ashantee is to Kantano in Banna, a city little inferior in size and population to Coomassy itself, and from this station to Sago, or any part of the Niger in Bambara, it is no more than twenty seven days' journies, or eighteen from Daboya. From Sago to Jenny it is no more than four water journies, or ten long ones by land.

The north banks of the Niger, westward of the Dibber lake, were little known to my informers, except that they knew them to be populous, containing many tribes of heathens and Moslems intermixed. But south of the river, in the kingdom of Konbory, they described many large towns and cities, some of which, as Tastima and Fedanky, were inhabited by a population exclusively Moslem. The Korannic law governs all these parts, or the people from choice and the veneration they have for Moslems conform to its tenets in civil matters.

Camels and horses abound in all these parts, as well as in Manding, and the people are warlike as well as commercial. The houses of the inhabitants are flat-roofed, and constructed, for the most part, with clay, although not differing materially in architecture from such as may be seen in the northern states of Africa, on the Mediterranean shores; they are not built, however,

* In the construction of my map, it may be necessary to remind the reader, that I have studied nothing as regards the probable termination of rivers, &c.; not conceiving myself warranted to do so in a work of this kind: but where the natives described water to exist, or any other local object, there I have simply inserted it, leaving all speculative matter out of the question; so that the map itself is no other than a compilation of their own, at least founded upon their authority exclusively.

higher than those of Ashantee, with the exception only of a few, which are two stories. The common luza, (almond) the tûta, (mulberry) the luzal hendi, (cocoa) and many of the productions of North Africa, grow spontaneously in these parts, blended with the palm, date, plantain, and a variety of other species, such as may be found everywhere in the Torrid Zone.

Janny is a very large city in the kingdom of Massina, and Ghimballa a district or principality bordering the river, and having a town called by the same name, which is seated one journey from the Dibber lake, on its northern shores. Massina is the most westerly kingdom of Fillany.

From Janny it is reckoned seven or eight land journies to Timbuctoo; and it is usual to travel the distance on horses or camels through Ghimballa, in preference to performing the voyage across the Dibber, which, besides its southerly inclination, is subject to storms, the merchant being moreover harassed by canoes belonging to the petty kings and chiefs who live on its banks, and who are in the practice of extorting goods and money.

The Arab tribe called Woled Moghata, inhabit the desert confines behind Massina; and in travelling to their douars, or encampments, from Janny, you fall in with a large river, on the 10th day, which flows to the south-east, (perhaps south;) the name of it, however, was not known. Neither these Arabs nor the neighbouring African tribes use fire-arms; they may indeed have possession of a few, which they purchase or take from the natives of the Senegal and Gambia; but gunpowder being at all times a scarce commodity, these weapons are not in much repute. The fact may be, that the inland people of those districts are debarred a free traffic in those commodities by their maritime neighbours, the same as the practice is among the Ashantees and Dahomans. Many of the chiefs, however, have a few, which they exhibit with great ostentation on days of ceremony. Beyond the river which flows through the country of the Woled Moghata, is the great and populous district of Marroa, of which the kingdom of Foulaha, containing the tributary states or principalities of Ghou and Kaby, are the westernmost boundaries. Atogho and Zanberma are kingdoms on the south bank of the

Koara, opposite the former, in the district of Fillany. The Great Desert approaches the river at Sago, within the distance of twelve journies; this desert, called by way of distinction Sahara Azki, or the Pure Desert, is the most barren of vegetation of any known in these parts; and the traveller can seldom procure water for his cattle, under the lapse of ten or twelve days.

The second route falling under description, is that leading from Salgha to the right of north through Tonouma, part of Ghobagho, Ghomba, and Mousee, to the powerful kingdom of Magho, whose capital city is Ghoroma. There are two roads by which the traders journey,—one taking north from Salgha to the city of Betariby, the other inclining more easterly, through Banko and Caja to Yandy, in the country of Simmer. The former, however, is considered the more direct route; and as such it is preferred by travellers whose object may be to visit Ghoroma direct. The towns between Betariby and the Ghulby, are Yashily, Deghony, and Wabia, a capital city, as large as Coomassy, and a territory purely Moslem. The great wilderness of Ghomaty, frequented by the elephant-hunters, lies to the right or eastward of this, stretching off to the neighbourhood of the city of Zogho itself, from which it is distant a single journey only.* From Wabia the road leads through Kousagho, Takolshi, Sakoya, and Coltega, to Boughori, (a city of the heathens, of very considerable magnitude;) from thence it is only one journey to the Ghulby, بحر غلبي; in the kingdom of Magho, passing through the town of Batili.

This, which is a circuitous route to Haoussa, (for the Niger itself they rarely or never visit between the parallels of 1° west, and 6° or 7° east,) is often preferred by the traders who visit Haoussa, on account either of the

* All the countries in this direction, from Ghobago and Mousee to the kingdom of Kaima, are considered only in the light of provinces or principalities of the great kingdom of Zogho, whose sultan receives tribute or presents from most of the neighbouring nations, Dahomy and Benin included.

commercial habits of the people, or their proximity to the great fairs * and markets, which are generally holden weekly in the vicinity of the Koara, and to which the merchants from all parts of the north-east are in the constant practice of resorting. Ghoroma is on the north bank of the Ghulby, and distant from Batili one journey by water, or three by land. By this road it is seventeen journeys from Salgha to Ghoroma; but by the way of Yandy it is one day more, the track upon either parallel bearing to the right of north.

The traders who visit Magho generally proceed northward to the little tributary heathen kingdom of Ghotto, to which there is a communication by water, either by the overflowing or connexion of a lake, called by the Moslems Kouzaghá, and which lies to the north-east of Ghoroma, at six journeys distant. The River Ghulby is parted from at the great city of Andary, a capital station of the traders, on the second day. The lake itself is considerably more than one journey in length, from east to west, and the water of it is perfectly pure and sweet-flavoured. To Ghoroma † I have accordingly assigned the latitude of 12° 25″ north longitude, 1.33 east. Nearly upon the parallel of Popo, and to Andary, I have given 12° 34 latitude, 2° 12 longitude, which would place it on a line nearly with Whydah.

Magho is a kingdom which contains a mixed population of Moslems and Heathens,—the former enjoying the government. The sultan † is one of the most powerful princes south of the Koara, and may, as my informer stated, vie in rank with the sultan of Bargho, his eastern neighbour. The dominions of the sovereign extend right and left of north to Atogho, (a principality of heathens south of the Koara and Koubory,) where the population again is

* Fairs and public markets are common in all parts of Soudan, as well as in the states beyond the deserts. The African, indeed, gives his confidence to no other medium of intercourse. Even among the ferocious tribes of Guinea, the people are in the enjoyment of their weekly or monthly markets.

† The name of the reigning monarch, as described to me,—I think it will be seen in the MSS.

مريبي Mariba Sheikhy.

mixed. The people of these parts, Moslems or Heathens, are highly commercial and enterprizing.

From Magho the traders sometimes drop down the Ghulby to Kook, Nikky, or Rougha; but there is another route, leading inland through many towns, which may be referred to in the chart or native MSS. leading also to Nikky, the metropolis of Killinga, and the great kingdom of Bargho. From Nikky, the Haoussa road leads over the Ghulby, to Wory and other towns in the north-east, through the heart of Bargho, and from thence to its tributary kingdom of Wawa, as it will fall under description next in order. The road from Nikky to Kassina, below the Noufy lake, takes through the kingdoms of Maury, Kandashi and Souy, leaving Kaima and Atagara, two other powerful states; the former Moslem, and the latter Heathen, in the south and south-east. The track of country on this route is mostly champaign, rich, and fruitful, well watered with innumerable small rivers, and some great ones, which it is affirmed flow southerly, and fall into the sea in the neighbourhood of Benin.

Two or three journies eastward of Nikky is a lake of moderate dimensions, called Callio Makaro, which they relate, has no connexion with the River Ghulby; and the water of it is said to be brackish, or salt. Salt is also dug out of the earth hereabouts, and transported to all parts of the south and west, as also to the markets of Nikky, Youry, Boussa, Kook, Kassina, &c. To this lake I have assigned the latitude of 12° north, and 6° 30 east. The chief towns in its neighbourhood are Ghora and Ghatagha,—the latter a very large and populous city, inhabited by a great proportion of Moslems, and resorted to from all parts of Soudan. From Ghatagha, the route to Kassina inclines to the left of east,* through Fogha, Toukani, Bakoridi, and Conka, to

* This is the city, of which mention has been already made, that its name is the same as a great southern river called Shaderbah, or Vahar Kanbaja.

Hanbaja, along the track pursued by the Ghulby in its course to the Noufy. Some of the other principal towns are Kaado, Fakaro, Ghosi, Rekena, and Marina, which is a city of the very first rank, and the metropolis of Souy. To this place I have assigned a position, 13° 28″ north latitude, 11° 10″ east longitude. It bears south-east from the Noufy lake, from which it is distant two journies. The Moslem law prevails throughout these districts. At Fakaro, Kaado, and Kanbaja, the governments are in the hands of these people, who rule a mixed population of Moslems and Idolaters; but the latter are not tolerated in any part of the kingdom of Souy. The intercourse between Bornou and Souy is very great, and both nations are skilled in manufactures. The land is said to be amazingly rich and productive in corn and fruits. The city itself is said to be as large as Yandy, which is the largest in the south, upon that parallel, or below it. The fairs which are held here are resorted to by people not only from all parts of Haoussa, but also from Bournou, Yakoo, Gambaroo, Maury, and Bargho. The heathen kingdom of Yakoo, the capital of which is Saghona, bears easterly from Marina, inclining, perhaps, a little to the south, as it is below the lake called Shady. Still further to the south-east is the negro kingdom of Gambaro, which, as well as Yakoo, are sometimes tributary to Bornou. From Marina the road leads northerly over a river called Ghulby Kerba, to a small town called also Souy, from whence, after crossing a second large river, whose name is unknown to me, it will lead to Rouma, also a large city of the Moslems, and an important place of trade. From Marina to Rouma it is four good journies, and from Rouma to Kassina, which bears north of it, it is four more, over the great eastern outlet of the lake Noufy, called the Koara Raba, or Koara Rafa, through the towns of Cooney, Mayo, Moro, Malabo, and New Birini, (built after another city of this name, and of great renown.) Old Birini, which is still a place of some importance, bears about west north west of Kassina, from which it is distant three journies. To Kassina I have assigned the latitude of 15° 12″ north, longitude, 11° 50″ east, it being

about nine hundred geographic miles from Coomassy, or seventy-three journies, by the foregoing route through Magho, Bargho, and Maury, and sixty-eight hard travelling by a direct path.

There is a river, the Moslems relate, of very great dimensions, and which serves as the boundary on the lakés, between Bornou and Haoussa and the desert. This river, which they name Bahar Bairam, comes out of Bornou, and falls into the Koara, somewhere between the Noufy and Shady, or perhaps into one or the other of them. To go from Kassina to Rakka and Kano, two large principalities of the Moslems, on the banks of the Shady, it is usual to cross the Bairam, I think the first or second day. Haoussa is separated on the north-east from the desert, and Sokory, a place of some importance, on its confines, by a chain or cluster of small mountains, called Jibbel Taurica. The Felatah tribes inhabit all the country hereabouts. The sultan of Kassima, which is a city no way inferior to those of the first class in Africa, is supreme in Haoussa, receiving tribute from all parts of it, including the lesser kingdoms of Youry, Koubash, Bousa, Garanty, and Yandoso. The Felattah tribes, and the Arab territory of Jekhy, I think, stand in the same relation to this monarch, who is a rigid Moslem, and whose dominions in the east contain none who do not conform to the faith. The Moslems, in fact, compose the great bulk of the population of Haoussa, and its government is exclusively in their hands. Jekhy, which is a station of much greater renown than Sokory, is distant from Kassina twenty journies, in a north-west direction. It is a rocky or stony district, inhabited by a branch of a tribe of Arabs called Woled Gormah. From Jekhy the caravans and traders explore their way to all parts of the north and north-west,—to Taffilet, Algier, Akabli, Tunis, Tripoli, &c.

There is a route from Janny to Jekhy, as may be seen in one of the MSS. by dropping down the Dibber to Alfine, and from thence, by land, through Kasoo, Danfsoo, Sakam, Boghfom, and Aty, then over the Koara to Kankawansa, Henkenta, Dankasado, Dody, Kamana, and Jekhy, from whence to Azban it is twenty-three day's journey, and to Egypt (Cairo) one

hundred. This is the usual track of pilgrimage performed by the natives of the west and south-west, besides those of Safany, Melly, Manding, Koubory, &c. Haoussa and Marroa are, perhaps, the most important commercial districts in central Africa, and their manufactures of cotton goods, carpets, trinkets, and cutlery, some of which I have seen, are little, if any thing, inferior to those of Mauritania. Horses and camels abound everywhere, and the inhabitants fight with bows, arrows, darts, and lances, in common with most or all of the inland nations. The population of these parts must indeed be great, if it is true, as related, that, like Benin itself, or superior to it, there is scarcely a piece of waste land to be seen, or where corn and other nutritious vegetables are not cultivated by the inhabitants, who, I think the Bashaw told me, here make use of the plough, and I believe nowhere else south of the Desert, unless that instrument may be used in Bornou. Some of the mosques and public inns in Kassina, Old and New Berini and Marina, as well as in Haoussa and Marroa, in general are said to be very elegant structures, having marble basins and fountains for ablution. The palaces of the sovereigns are built with proportionate magnificence.

Akom in Bornou is considered a sort of metropolitan sovereignty or principality; for here the sultan, it is said, chiefly resides, who rules the whole empire, to the confines of the Desert, Nubia, and Sennar. Bornou is considered the greatest monarchy in Africa, without exception. The inhabitants are Moslems, not only there, but probably from the 8th or 9th parallel of longitude upon the Koara and Shady, to the shores of the Red Sea, excepting some insulated tribes, as it is stated, of Christians, and perhaps Jews, the former living independent in the mountains, and the latter in subserviency to the believers.

The city of Bornou is stated at twenty journies to the east of Kassina. Ganem, Bagharny, Foor, and Wady, are eastward in rotation from Bornou, on the southern route to Masser (Egypt) and the Holy Land, called Shem, or Shemo. The principal stages, or places where pilgrims and travellers

alight to refresh, are marked in the map called Soudan, from Wady to Upper Egypt. The Shary is a great river, running easterly into the Nile, at Sennar. More than these general outlines of Bornou and the districts eastward of that empire, I dare not take upon myself to give, for all those countries were but imperfectly known to my informers, as they confessed themselves. From Wady to Egypt it is fifty-three days direct, or sixty by the usual track through the heart of Sennar and Nubia.

Another route called, by way of distinction, the direct track from Coomassy, or from Salgha to Youry in Haoussa, takes from the Aswada river through Tonouma, Simmer, and the mountains of Gofil and Yarako to Zogho, the metropolis of the kingdom so called. From thence through part of Killinga to the Ghulby, in the neighbourhood of Nikky or Kook; then over the river to the kingdom of Bargho and that part of Killinga which stretches away to the south western banks of the Koara, and which contains the kingdoms and principalities of Baman and Zamberma in the west, and Batako, Wawa, and Fagh, in the east. This is a road as well beaten, and, perhaps, as safe as any in Africa; and by this channel there is a constant communication kept up with Haoussa, Killinga, Kaima, Maury, Atagaru, and Yakoo. The towns on this route (from Salgha) are Bokoky, Yanomo, and Kanyasha*; the last mentioned a city of great renown in Tonouma. From Kanyasha, to Kadanki, Cabouto, and Koujasi another city of some magnitude near the neighbourhood of the Komashar river, or perhaps a branch of it, which explores a course through Dahomy in its passage to the sea; and which I imagine to be the Logos, or connected with that river. From Konjasi the road leads on to Zoukoma, Jadagho, and Keno, another capital

* From Kanyash or Kanjasa there is another main road, leading a little to the right (east) of north, through Masoko, to the great cities of Dagomba, Banko, and Yandy; the former as prosperous and extensive, and the latter more so than Coomassy. From Yandy the traders frequent the Ghulby by another road, leading to the city of Kisba, in the principality of Simmer; easterly and on to Arigoh, the wilderness of Ghomaty and Banano, or Grogary in the little kingdom of Kambah. All these countries are either Moslem, or under Moslem laws.

city of Dagomba, where the Moslems are very powerful. From Keno, over the mountains to Gofil, a frontier town of Zogho, on the south west. These mountains, which are described to be very lofty, precipitous, and barren, and which usually occupy the traveller three days, to traverse from south west to north east, are the natural boundaries between Zogho and that part of Dagomba which is governed by the sovereigns of Yandy, the former power having from time to time made great encroachments on the latter district. To Gofil, which is eleven journies E.SE. from Salgha, or about one hundred and seventy British miles, (horizontal) I have assigned the latitude of 9° 45′ north, longitude 2° 39′ east. The Yagah tribes, who are heathens, lay to the right of it, or easterly. The Ayoh, and their lake, are in the south; the latter distant from it five good stages. Khimbee, and the "land of the great waters which flow to Benin," are still further to the east.

From Gofil the road leads on to Arjou, Motom, and over another chain of mountains in Zogho, of two good days march to Yarakoo, from whence it is one more journey to the city of Zogho. This, as I have elsewhere observed, is a place of very great importance as regards its relations both commercial and political, with all parts of Wangara; and with Killinga, Haoussa, Dagomba, and Yarraba. Its influence between the longitudinal parallels of the Volta and Callebar rivers, is said to be bounded only by the ocean.

The Moslems are incredibly numerous in these parts; the government exclusively belongs to them, and more than half the population of the empire are probably of the Mohammedan faith. To Zogho I have assigned the latitude 10° 27′, longitude 3° 34′ east, and which I have reason to think will not be found to be many miles from its true position. It is distant from the ocean at the nighest point of approximation (near its parallel, the Logos river,) twenty journies or little more than three hundred horizontal miles. And Yandy, to which I have assigned 9° 42′ north latitude, 1° 14′ east longitude, is distant from the sea coast in the neighbourhood of Whydah no more than fifteen journies, or about two hundred and forty horizontal miles.

From Zogho the traders journey forward to Dankou, then over a forest

of small dimensions to Salano, a town of considerable note. The route then inclines north, through Jambodo, Sooso, and Corerey to the capital city of Kook, a station of the Moslems, and a place of great trade on the Ghulby. To Kook I have assigned a station in my map at 11° 50′ latitude north, and 4° 45′ east longitude. From Kook to Nikky the capital of Bargho, or Killinga, it is no more than two stages by land. The whole distance from Salgha to Nikky being no more than twenty-five journeys, or about four hundred miles (horizontal distance). This will assign to Nikky a station at the latitude 12° 7′ north, longitude 5° 12′ east.

From Nikky to the Niger, in the neighbourhood of Youry (the most powerful of the kingdoms tributary to the government of Haoussa,) it is no more than twelve days, or short of two hundred miles horizontal, making the whole distance from Salgha to that station upon its banks, no more than thirty-eight moderate journies, or fifty-two from Coomassy. The towns on the route from Nikky to Youry are, first Rougha, a place of great magnitude on the Ghulby; over that river to Sabousara; then Wory, a city also of the first class in Baman; then Roa, Ghado, Doshi, Confi, and Wado, the metropolis of Wawa. From Wado to Sholo, and Ghasaghasa, where the Koara is crossed over to Youry, which is distant about half a day from the river. To Youry, therefore, I have assigned the latitude of 14° 30′ north, longitude 7° 33′ east. The Noufy lake and town are seven journies to the east or south east of Youry; Bousa is midway on that track, and it is eight journies more to Kassina, by the route north of the Koara. From Youry to Timbuctoo it is twenty-six journies westerly by the route north of the Koara, through Kaby and Ghou. Bargho, better known to the eastern Moslems by the name of Killinga, is a kingdom of equal renown with Zogho, and the Moslems are, in most of its districts, in greater numbers than the heathens.*

* The other list of routes, their bearing, distance, &c. in day's journies, according to the Moslem maps, or manuscripts, caravan and pilgrim tracks, &c., it has not been deemed essential to copy here, as they may be referred to by the reader in a more systematical arrangement in the little map entitled Soudan.

The Jews of Soudan are, according to my informers, divided into many large and small tribes, with whose names they are unacquainted. Their mode of life in some countries is pastoral; but the towns are filled with traders and artificers of that faith, who gain a subsistence at their several employments, in the service of the Moslems, under whose government they live as vassals. This, in reference to Mr. Bowdich's kingdom of "Yahoodie," I may be permitted to say, is the only state of society in which that oppressed nation is suffered to live; and the tribes, without security in their possessions, without public revenue or arms, are hourly exposed to insult and rapine from the blind zeal and active bigotry by which their lords are animated in those countries. The lands occupied by these people cover a wide extent, between Massina and Kaby. They are said to be mingled also with the upper Foulaha tribes, eastward of Timbuctoo, and in many parts of Marroa they have inheritances or are employed as artificers in the cities and towns; "As we live among the heathens," said the Bashaw, "so do the Jews in Marroa and Fillany with our brethren; but they are not esteemed like us, for they are a people hardened in their sins and obstinate in infidelity; the anger of God is upon them, and therefore are they given to the rule of the Moslems, until they shall become incorporated with the faithful. The tribes are not black, but of a colour resembling the Arabs of the north. But what is more material, these Soudanic Jews are reported to have been the original inhabitants thereabout, before the Arabs were acquainted with central Africa. They are, perhaps, distinguished from the Hebrews, the posterity of Abraham, inasmuch as I never heard them described under the appellation of Bani Israel; although that name must have been familiar to the Moslems from the pages of the Koran; and I found, in antecedent conversations, upon the subject of Egypt, they were well informed of the events which befel the children of Israel in the days of Moses. The estimation in which the Moslems of Wangara hold the glorious reign of Solomon, King of Israel, is equal to that of their northern brethren; and does not materially vary from the translations that have been given of the works of Arabian authors who have

written fictitious popular tales known in Europe as such, and which occasionally refer to that age or the relics of that miraculous power over the elements and invisible spirits with which Solomon was entrusted. I shall not, however, tire the patience of the reader with what might be too marvellous for the comprehension of any but a Moslem. It will be sufficient to say, that the introduction of the Jews to Soudan is a subject worthy of investigation. If my information be well grounded, and a correspondence could by any means be opened with these insulated tribes, much important information relative to the early ages in Africa, might be derived through their agency, as they would have been the first people, it is presumed, who were gifted with the art of writing. These tribes, whether Hebrew or African, wandered, it is believed, originally from the neighbourhood of Upper Egypt, while the children of Israel were held in captivity.

The countries westward of Gaman are but little known to the Ashantees, who court no alliance in that quarter, nor does an Ashantee trader ever venture his person beyond the distance of fourteen journies west. In the north they sometimes travel as far as Aughoa, the capital of the heathen kingdom of Mousee, whose position is to the south of Magho, and to the east of Kasogho. Aughoa is distant from Coomassie twenty-five journies by the Salgha and Yandy Roads, which would give a distance of three hundred and sixty British miles. Their object in frequenting this place is to collect that vegetable substance called in Park's Travels by the name of Shea Butter, although oftentimes they draw their supplies from a forest in Banna, near the town of Kantano its capital, where it does not grow so spontaneous, nor are the trees so prolific.

The Ashantees now constantly visit Ghofan, south of the Aswada, and sometimes also Baddim,* a district in Manding by a circuitous route, avoiding the territory of Kong, which is considered politically hostile to their country, and occasionally, although very rarely, they visit the Niger at

* Perhaps the Baedo of Park.

Sago, where the Moslems say a remnant of one of the tribes fled during a former reign, and are to this day retained in the service of the king of that country, but in these journies they must first consult their safety by a religious escort, or by their ability to obtain the use of the king's name.

Eastward, the Ashantees rarely visit Dahomy, and never Benin. Between the feelings of the three courts there is a rankling, although somewhat torpid inclination to hostility, founded upon jealousy and maritime influence. As regards Dahomy, Mr. Bowdich was misinformed if he was told that the kings of Ashantee and Dahomy had but once exchanged compliments, for it is a practice which is politically adopted on various occasions. At Benin, the Ashantees have no friends, consequently there is no correspondence between the two courts.

The NE. is mainly the track of amity and alliance, and this, which is one of the most beaten roads in Africa, the Ashantees travel over without scruple, but mostly in the society of Moslems, to Salgha, Tonoma, Ghamba, Yandy, and other parts of Dagomba. Sometimes these traders extend their journies to Kook, Makrari, Nikky, &c. and sometimes, although less frequently, to the Koara at Haboussa. But in these latter excursions they require the aid of the Moslems as religious protectors.

More to the northward of east, there is another great track leading through Dagomba, to the great kingdom of Magho on the Ghulby. This road the traders are also familiar with, and they now and then extend their journey as far as Ghoroma, and more rarely to the northward of that station, but never without the usual precaution. It is a fact of notoriety in the countries of Wangara, that no heathen can be perfectly secure in his person and property beyond the precincts of his sovereign's jurisdiction, excepting, however, the character of ambassador, whose person should be held inviolate, that of king's merchant or trader which is equally sacred, hunters of elephants in the king's name, and on his account; and lastly, men of rank or others whose influence or interest at court is powerful enough to gain for them a travelling protection by the use of the king's name, and recommen-

dation to other sovereigns and princes. These, and only such characters, are passports for the subjects of Ashantee, by which they may travel in security, and this maxim, I am credibly assured, relates not only to the empire in question, but also to all the heathen kingdoms thereabouts. It is the practice to arrest all strangers upon the confines, and conduct them to court, where the *palaver* is discussed, and the fate of the intruder, should he have ventured without the necessary precautions, terminates either in detention, slavery, or death. Hence the favour of using the king's name is great, and the king of Ashantee never confers it except upon those whom he has confidence in, as men of ability and prudence. The Moslems, as it has been stated, may travel secure and unmolested in all known parts of the African continent; yet such of them as are subject to the rule of heathen princes, will not willingly venture their persons in the territory of a hostile state; like the heathens they may not pursue a direct journey to the place of their destination, avoiding thereby the capital cities and abodes of princes and sovereigns, but must directly shape a course to the metropolis of each kingdom, there to participate in the hospitality of the court, to make known their intentions, and to claim the protection of the sovereign as far as his influence may extend,* and all this may be accom-

* This is also the simple method practised by the Arabs and the northern nations of Africa, in journeying from the shores of the Red Sea, from Syria, Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, &c. to the remote parts of the Continent. Such, moreover, is the practice of the Mauritanian Arabs and Africans, in their excursions over the desert to Soudan, for every sheikh of a tribe looks either for a present or a visit by which he may confer the sacred rights of hospitality, and receive the stranger's acknowledgments. Without these formalities it is by no means safe to pass from one district to another, unless the caravan is of sufficient magnitude to afford protection to itself. I cannot help thinking that the misfortune which befel Mungo Park was owing to the neglect of these indispensable precautions, without which a voyage down the Niger would be impracticable, unless indeed it were possible to fit out a vessel of the class of gun-brigs for that service. By a reference to the journal of Amadi Fatouma, it will be seen that the influence of the king of Bambara afforded protection to the white men as far as Janny, where it does not appear that any other attention was paid to the sovereign, than by sending on shore a piece of

plished by the Moslem with or without a present, as his property or circumstances suggest themselves to his royal host. Nay, on the journey from Coomassy to Haoussa, he seldom disburses a mitskal of gold or cowrees (the value of ten shillings) but, on the contrary, is frequently a gainer by the generosity of princes, and his daily wants are moreover liberally supplied at their expence, and oftentimes with unbounded hospitality.

The river of Sago and Janny is called by the natives of those countries Joulaba, (or Jolliba) they have also distinct names for the other rivers, that flow into and from the Dibber, but the Arabs call the water Bahar Neel, or Neel Zakhar, the swelling Nile.

Ghimbala, the Jimbala of Park, is a sort of principality dependent upon the sovereign of Massina, and Wakwari is the metropolis of the country.

I did not meet with a man who had visited the celebrated city of Timbuctoo, although I conversed with two or three whose travels extended to

Baft; an attack was then made on the party in the Dibber Lake, which ended in the defeat of the aggressors, who were unprovided with fire arms. In passing Kakbara and Timbuctoo, it would seem that no notice whatever was taken of the sovereign, nor any present sent on shore to him, so that to me it does not seem surprising that the party were so constantly assailed by war canoes from Janny to Kaffo, or that they encountered so many obstacles on the voyage to Youry. The story of Mr. Park's death was no secret with any of the Moslems in Coomassy, and it happened precisely as Mr. Bowdich has related, which, in point of fact, agrees with the journal of Isaaco. The capital of Youry is distant from the river a short day's journey, and it is said, that when the king sent provisions to the canoe, he entreated by message, that the white chief would visit him on shore, and he would meet him near the waterside, an intention which that sovereign put in practice, but was irritated at finding the canoe would not wait, and had already gained an offing from the port; for Park, anxious, no doubt, for the prosecution of the voyage, quitted his anchorage without thinking it incumbent on him to pay his respects to the king, although the public curiosity or suspicion was excited by his detention two days on the river in gleaning information of Amadi Fatouma. It is the opinion of the Moslems, that no present was sent in return for the provisions, and if so, the conjecture of Park's editor, that they were withheld from the king by the chief, is well founded. When the king sent his army to Boussa, the Moslems say it was done to bring the white men back by force, but their destruction was never meditated; and the king, when the catastrophe was related to him, punished his officer with fine and imprisonment.

Sago and Janny. The travellers frequently saw canoes and caravans arrive at Janny, from the interior, by the way of Walet Tuano, or Timbuctoo; the latter journey, which they also performed by land, occupied seven days, the route lying through Ghimbala and Massina. The journey from Janny to Walet, cities purely Moslem, took up ten days, in the direction of the Great Desert, west of Massina. The Moslems were reported to be very numerous on the southern plains; but the unbelievers were not less so in the mountains which separate Fillany from Bambara, and the greater proportion of both sects marked their faces and bodies with cuts or punctures, to distinguish the tribes they belonged to, the same as is practised in Sarem and Ghunja. During my informer's residence at Janny, he had seen many opulent traders arrive from Ismaelia (Mauritania), from Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. Those from the north and east came by the way, either of Mobaruka, Woled Gormah, Woled Mohata, or Jekky. It was usual with these traders to arrive in Soudan about the close of the rains, and return homewards at all seasons; but more frequently when the river began to swell and the rains were far advanced. The natives of the Niger, according to this authority, were as black as most of the Wangara tribes; and the Arabs, called Woled Moghata, were few, if any, shades lighter. 'Between Safany and Ghimbala, the houses are all flat roofed, and built of clay, the same as the mosques; but where lime is to be procured the natives use a thick wash, which looks much brighter than the white or grey clay of Ashantee. In some countries, however, they build with stone and mortar, and the houses of the rich are generally of two stories; i. e. the ground floor, as it may be called, raised two or three feet, and another floor above it; upon this principle the palaces of Calamby, Sago, Baâ, Taslima, and Janny, are all constructed.

Couries are the current coin of the Niger, and of most or of all the interior parts of the continent, excepting the westernmost countries of Wangara, Ashantee, Gaman, and some of their dependencies, where gold also is found. Large payments, however, are usually made in Upper Soudan in coin, in manufactured trinket gold, or by bartering one commodity for another, and

paying the balance in couries, salt, or grain; but in the countries before named (as the gold mines exist no where else) the people use the crude metal in lump or dust for the same purpose. In Salgha, Zogho, Nikky, Bargho, Youry, and the eastern countries, the people either use a substantial or a nominal coin, of the same name and value, and this is called mitskal, a thin gold coin, varying in its value in proportion to the weight. . . It is the same, in fact, which is the national coin of Mauritania, and of most of the Arabian and Turkish governments. This piece of money is esteemed of high antiquity, having been introduced into Soudan beyond the Niger, as it is related, as early as the second or third hejyran centuries, and many, it is added, are still current which were fabricated at Damascus, Baghdad, Mehedia, and Morocco, during the reigns of the houses or dynasties of Abbas and Ismaelouni. The mitskal has a general circulation, even in countries where it is not a national coin; nor do the Ashantees refuse them in payment; but such of them as are esteemed by the Moslems for antiquity and the epoch of a celebrated prince are highly prized by the heathens, who, when they are to be procured, give a great price for them, for the purpose of dedicating to their patron gods, and wearing on days appropriated to religious ceremony. In fact, some of these mitskals are the fetische of the sovereign and nobles.*

In Entaa, Tonouma, Ghobagho, Zogho, and many neighbouring countries the mitskal which is employed as the medium of exchange, is considered nevertheless a nominal coin, for they are not manufactured in those countries; they are only partially current from the influx of specie brought by the northern traders. Nikky, the capital of Bargho or Killinga, is the great

* According to the weight and rate of currency given to the mitskal in Morocco, Fez, and other parts of the Gharb, the average value of what passes for a full weight coin, does not exceed 10s. 9d. sterling. It is true, however, that a few of the old coin, of that denomination, are worth something more, but I think I may venture to say, they rarely ever exceed 11s. or 11s. 3d. in sterling value.

mint of Soudan, south of the Niger, as Bornou is that of the north; such was the similitude used by my informers, who shewed me two pieces of money of that description, which were stamped, as clearly as I could discern, with characters similar to the mitskal of Morocco, although the impression, from the purity of the metal, was too much defaced to enable me to trace the year, or the whole of the writing. I was told they were the coin of Killinga, and that they were current not only in Wangara, but also in Bambara, Marroa, Fillany, Haoussa, some parts of the Desert, and even in Egypt. Thirteen of these mitskals (metsakol in the plural) were considered in Ashantee equivalent to the Benda,* or two ounces of pure gold. Thus supposing 11*s.* 2*d.* to be an average value for the mitskal, it would shew the true value of pure gold in Ashantee, 3*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.* sterling, the ounce weight of that country, which may be about sixteen grains heavier than our ounce troy; reducing it therefore, in sterling money, to 3*l.* 10*s.* or thereabouts. The minkali of Park is evidently no other than the true mitskal, and the value in sterling money, at which his editor has estimated it, *i. e.* 12*s.* 6*d.* is, as it would seem, overrated 2*s.* a trifle more or less. This mistake cannot indeed be satisfactorily accounted for, as it rests entirely with that unfortunate traveller, who describes the weight of the minkali about eighty grains, and its value in

* The names given by the Arabs to several denominations of coin carry their importance in the meaning, which is metaphorical or otherwise. These people, indeed, are pretty well known even in Europe, as professors of acute sayings. When a Mauritanian is disappointed in a scheme that requires the assistance of friends or money, it is usual for him to retort acrimoniously, "God rest the souls of the old Arabs, who first gave the name of countenance (or face) to money: enigmatically implying a curse upon the obduracy of the rich, whose arrogance is kindled by the wealth they possess. This word of the Arabs is وجه Wajoh or Oujoh, and in strictness it has many appropriate meanings besides countenance or visage, such as honour, purity, respect, reason, primitive prince, &c. but its common signification is as I have stated. The small copper coins, something less in value than our farthings, are by the same people called فلس (Falas) which means poverty, indigence, want, &c. and to a stranger it is a scene of comic novelty to hear the Arabs dispute together, as they frequently do in money matters, exchanging, with animated gesture, the words wajoh, oujine, tiltoujou, arbaa, falas, &c.—One two, three, four countenances and poverty.

British currency, as before quoted; whereas I seldom have had possession of one of those coins that would turn the scale at seventy four grains, and they were not to be rejected at sixty-eight or sixty-seven. It is probable that circumstanced as Park was at Sansanding, the sales he effected are what, commercially speaking, would deserve the name of sacrifices; for his object was to disencumber himself of those bulky packages which could not conveniently be stowed in the canoe, and of such articles as could be dispensed with, for the more portable coin in gold and cowries, hence the profits calculated upon his account of sales, must not be considered by any means equivalent to what a Barbary merchant would realize for the same articles.

The mitskal is, according to a tradition in the north, even of older standing than the first emigrations of the Arabian tribes; but the Guinea Moslems trace their circulation, in Soudan, to the conquests effected by those tribes in Marroa, Fillany, Killinga, &c. before and after the celebrated dynasty of Mohahidouni, or Mahadi.

The following, shewing the relative value of the mitskal in cowries, as furnished by the Bashaw, may not be uninteresting to the reader.

	COWRIES.
In Dahomy and Benin it is equivalent to	4500.
In Salgha, Bouromy, and Banna to	4300.
In Yandy	4200.
In Zogho	4000.
In Nikky	3800.
On the Niger at Haoussa between	3500 and 3400.

The mitskal of Nikky, I was informed, never varied from the standard that passed for currency in all parts of the continent; and it was not the usual practice to weigh them as the Ashantees do gold dust. The same mitskal was the coin of Janny and Sago, as well as Youry, Kassina, Wawa, Boussa, &c. They are also circulated in Kambah, Magho, and Manding; but where they did not abound, the value in cowries, rock or dust gold, and mer-

chandize to that amount, was established in most countries, and served as a standard medium of currency, by which the natives computed large sums. Besides the coin of the Arabians, many or most of the African tribes beyond the Volta, make use of the same weights and measures. Thus the Khroba is a corn measure, containing about two pecks; the Kantar is one hundred pounds (the same probably as the Mauritanian, which is equivalent to one hundred weight and six pounds English, or one hundred and eighteen pounds). The ratal is a single pound; the kama is a fathom; and the kaâla the cubit measure of twenty-two inches, which they subdivide into three spans.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

APPOINTMENT OF THE AUTHOR, AS CONSUL AT COOMASSY.

In the name and on the behalf of His Majesty.

(Signed) GEORGE P. R.

George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting;

We, being desirous to maintain the peace and establish a good correspondence between us, our subjects and the Kingdom of Ashantee in Africa, and to advance and encourage the trade and commerce that has been made and now is between our dominions and the said Kingdom, have thought fit to appoint some person well qualified to discharge the office of Consul there; and whereas we are well assured of the ability of our trusty and well-beloved Joseph Dupuis, Esq. and of his loyalty, experience, diligence, and fidelity; We, therefore, for the purposes abovementioned, and for the greater benefit, and the good, and more orderly government of our English merchants and other our subjects trading thither, or residing at Coomassy, the capital city of the said Kingdom of Ashantee, or within any of the dominions of the said kingdom, have nominated, constituted, and appointed, and by these presents do nominate, constitute, and appoint him, the said Joseph Dupuis, to be our Agent and Consul at Coomassy aforesaid, hereby giving and granting unto him the said

Joseph Dupuis, full power and authority by all lawful ways and means, to aid and protect as well our said merchants and other our subjects trading, or that shall trade, or have any commerce with the said Kingdom of Ashantee, or that do, or shall reside at Coomassy aforesaid, or within the dominions of the said Kingdom of Ashantee aforesaid, as also all and every of their goods, wares, and merchandises there, and their ships and vessels and trade aforesaid; and also, as our said Agent and Consul, to use his utmost endeavours to preserve and keep all our said merchants and subjects in their rights and freedoms there, and also to examine and hear, and as much as in him lies to compose and determine all and all manner of differences, contentions, suits, and variances that shall or may happen or arise, or that are now depending at Coomassy aforesaid, or within any of the dominions of the Kingdom of Ashantee as aforesaid, between our said merchants and subjects, or any of them, and to do and execute, from time to time, all and every other act or acts, thing or things, that may advance and encrease, and be for the benefit of trade and mutual commerce between our said kingdoms and the ports in the Kingdom of Ashantee aforesaid: To have, hold and exercise the said trust and employment of our Agent and Consul at Coomassy as aforesaid, during our pleasure, together with all privileges, immunities, allowances, rewards, profits, and advantages to our Agent and Consul there, anyways belonging or appertaining. Wherefore we will, and by these presents, do strictly charge and command all and every our said merchants and other our subjects coming into, trading or residing in the Kingdom of Ashantee aforesaid, or any of the dominions thereof, to own and acknowledge the said Joseph Dupuis as our Agent and Consul there, in and by all due respects and regards to the said trust belonging or appertaining, for and during the continuance of this our commission and authority to him in that behalf hereby granted as aforesaid, and also to permit and suffer him the said Joseph Dupuis to have, receive and enjoy all such and the like privileges, immunities, and allowances, rewards, profits, benefits, and advantages whatsoever, as do or ought to belong to our Agent or Consul, by reason of the said trust and employment; and we do also, in a friendly manner, pray and desire the King of Ashantee aforesaid, and all others in public authority there, whom it may any way concern, that they receive and admit him, the said Joseph Dupuis, for our Agent and Consul in the said city and dominions thereunto belonging, and upon all his reasonable requests to do him that justice, and afford him that assistance which may testify their friendship to us, and which we shall upon all occasions be ready to acknowledge.

Given at our Court, at Carlton House, the twenty-sixth day of January, 1818, in the fifty-eighth year of our reign.

By command of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty.

(Signed) BATHURST.

No. II.

TREATY MADE WITH THE KING OF ASHANTEE, BY MR. BOWDICH, IN THE NAME OF THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL, &c.*

TREATY made and entered into by Thomas Edward Bowdich, Esquire, in the name of the Governor and Council at Cape Coast Castle, on the Gold Coast of Africa, and on behalf of the British Government, and Zey Tootoo Quamina, King of Ashantee, and its Dependencies.

1st. There shall be perpetual peace and harmony between the British subjects in this country, and the subjects of the King of Ashantee.

2d. The same shall exist between the subjects of the King of Ashantee, and all nations of Africa residing under the protection of the company's forts and settlements on the Gold Coast; and it is hereby agreed that there are no palavers now existing, and that neither party has any claim upon the other.

3d. The King of Ashantee guarantees the people of Cape Coast from the hostilities threatened by the people of Elmina.

4th. In order to avert the horrors of war, it is agreed that in any case of aggression on the part of the natives under British protection, the king shall complain thereof to the governor-in-chief, to obtain redress; and that he will in no instance resort to hostilities without endeavouring, as much as possible, to effect an amicable arrangement.

5th. The King of Ashantee agrees to permit a British officer to reside constantly at his capital, for the purpose of instituting and preserving a regular communication with the governor-in-chief at Cape Coast Castle.

6th. The King of Ashantee pledges himself to countenance, promote, and encourage the trade of his subjects with Cape Coast Castle and its dependencies, to the extent of his power.

7th. The governors of the respective forts shall at all times afford every protection in their power to the persons and property of the people of Ashantee, who may resort to the water side.

8th. The governor-in-chief reserves to himself the right of punishing any Ashantee guilty of secondary offences, but in case of any crime of magnitude, he will send the offender to the king, to be dealt with according to the laws of his country.

9th. The king agrees to commit children to the care of the governor-in-chief for education at Cape Coast Castle, in the full confidence of the good intentions of the British government, and the benefits to be derived therefrom.

* See Note, p. 139.

10th. The king promises to make diligent inquiries respecting the officers attached to the Mission of Major John Peddie and Captain Thomas Campbell, and to influence and oblige the neighbouring kingdoms and his tributaries, to befriend them as the subjects of the British government.

The mark of ZEY ⋈ TOOTO QUAMINA.

(Signed) THOMAS EDWARD BOWDICH.

In the presence of
(Signed) WILLIAM HUTCHINSON.
HENRY TEDLIE.

No. III.

TREATY MADE WITH THE KING OF ASHANTEE, BY THE AUTHOR, ON BEHALF OF HIS MAJESTY.

TREATY made and entered into by Joseph Dupuis, Esquire, his Britannic Majesty's Consul for the Kingdom of Ashantee in Africa, in the name and on behalf of the British Government, with Sai Totoo Quamina, King of Ashantee and its dependencies.

1st. The King of Ashantee agrees to receive and acknowledge Joseph Dupuis, Esquire, as his Majesty's Consul at Coomassy, to the full intent and meaning of his commission, and if at any time ill health should oblige the said Joseph Dupuis to leave this country, the king will receive and acknowledge any gentleman that he may appoint to succeed him.

2d. The King of Ashantee having taken *his sacred* oath of allegiance and fidelity to the crown of Great Britain, in the person of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, makes known to all to whom these presents shall come, that he will with all his power and influence, support, aid, and protect the British interests, in this country, and that he will, if necessary, on all occasions, march his armies to any part of the country, where the interests of Great Britain may require their aid and assistance.

3d. The claim recently made by the King of Ashantee, on the governor of Cape Coast Castle, amounting to one thousand six hundred ounces of gold, or £6,400 is hereby acknowledged to be relinquished; and it is agreed that there are now no differences or palavers existing between the King of Ashantee and the Governor, or between the king and any other of His Britannic Majesty's subjects, collectively or individually.

4th. The King of Ashantee agrees and binds himself to support and encourage the commerce of this country with Cape Coast and its dependencies, by all the means in his power; and pledges himself not to allow any differences that may occur to interrupt the trade with the English merchants on the Coast.

5th. The King of Ashantee claims the Fantee territory as his dominions, which the consul, on the part of the British government, accedes to, in consideration and on the express condition that the king agrees to acknowledge the natives, residing under British protection, entitled to the benefit of British laws, and to be amenable to them only in case of any act of aggression on their part.

6th. After the final adjustment of the present claims upon the natives of Cape Coast, the King binds himself to submit all future complaints to the Consul only, and on no account whatever to make war with the natives, at any of the English settlements, without first allowing the consul an opportunity of settling such differences.

7th. The consul, on the part of the British government, guarantees all the protection in his power to the subjects of the king of Ashantee, who may have any commerce with the British Settlements on the Coast.

8th. The consul binds himself on the part of the British government and the governor and council, to keep half the path that is at present made between Cape Coast and Ashantee well cleared, and the king of Ashantee agrees to keep the other half of the path constantly in good order, so that there shall always be a free and easy communication with the Ashantee dominions.

9th. It is expressly agreed and understood that the consul shall at all times be at liberty to visit the capital of Ashantee, and to take his departure therefrom, whenever he may think fit, without being subject to any interruption or detention, and that the consul's residence may either be at Coomassy, or at Cape Coast, as he may, from time to time, deem expedient for the public good; but if at any time during the consul's absence from Coomassy, the king of Ashantee has any complaint or palaver against the natives of the British Settlements the same is to be submitted to the consul at Cape Coast, and if it cannot be settled without his presence at Coomassy, it is agreed that the consul shall immediately proceed to the capital on all such occasions.

10th. The king of Ashantee having publicly and repeatedly complained of the exorbitant prices charged on the notes he holds from the forts, for the goods he receives in payment of those notes; and in consequence of the manifest dissatisfaction expressed by the king on this subject in particular, the consul, in order to obviate any objections to the ratification of the present treaty, concedes this point to the king, agreeing in future to take upon himself the payment of those notes: and the king declares he will not from henceforth receive any payment of those notes, except through the medium of the consul.

11th. The king on the part of his principal captains and counsellors hereby acknowledges to their having also taken the oath of allegiance and fidelity to the crown of Great Britain.

12th. In virtue of this treaty, it is mutually agreed and expressly understood, that all former treaties between the king of Ashantee and the authorities of Cape Coast Castle, on the behalf of his Majesty's government, particularly the treaty of 1817, are from henceforth to become null and void, and are hereby declared so accordingly.

Given under our Hands and Seals, at the King's Palace, at the capital Coomassy, this

23d Day of March, in the Year of our Lord, 1820, and in the Fifty-ninth Year of the Reign of His Majesty George III. &c.

The mark of ⋈ SAII TOOTOO QUAMINA.

In the presence of

BENJAMIN SALMON.
FRANCIS COLLINS.
DAVID MILL GRAVES.

JOSEPH DUPUIS.

Supplementary articles annexed to the General Treaty entered into this day between Sai Tooto Quamina, King of Ashantee, on the one part, and Consul Dupuis on behalf of His British Majesty's Government on the other part, which articles are hereby considered to be equally binding to the said contracting parties as if they were inserted in the primary or general treaty itself.

1st. The King of Ashantee having, by force of arms, subdued the kingdom of Gaman or Buntooko, which he now governs in full and undisputed sovereignty; and whereas, from political motives, it has been deemed prudent to station troops in Amanaha, on the banks of the Assinee River, and other parts of the said kingdom, to prevent the inhabitants from trading or holding any communication with the sea coast; the king now pledges himself, in virtue of this article, to remove the before-mentioned obstacles to the commerce of the kingdom of Buntooko or Gaman; and he guarantees the same privileges of trade to the natives of that country, which the Ashantees themselves enjoy, provided their intercourse with the sea coast is confined to Cape Coast Castle, or any other of the British forts and settlements on the Gold Coast. In promotion of this object the king has already nearly completed a road forming a direct communication to the heart of the said country of Gaman, and he hereby binds himself to support, aid, and encourage the trade of that country.

2d. The King of Ashantee being decidedly averse to relinquishing his claim on the natives of Cape Coast Town, and in consequence of certain private negotiations which are now pending through the medium of Mr. Smith, the Governor of Cape Coast Castle, on behalf of the parties concerned; (and whereas, the consul possesses no authority to guarantee payment to the king of any sum of money on behalf of the natives of Cape Coast beyond the limit of one hundred ounces of gold, which has only tended to excite the king's anger and indignation) as well as for other reasons unnecessary to introduce in this treaty, it is hereby stipulated that the natives of Cape Coast Town, being subjects of the King of Ashantee, are excluded from participating in the benefits of either of the treaties, as the king is resolved to eradicate from his dominions the seeds of disobedience and insubordination; nevertheless, in consideration of the friendship existing between him and the

King of England, and as the King of Ashantee is particularly anxious to convince the world of the sincerity of his regard for the honour and dignity, as well as the interests of the British Government and people, he will endeavour, as much as possible, to avoid giving offence either to the consul or to the authorities of Cape Coast Castle, directly or indirectly, and, therefore, whatever plans the King of Ashantee may think advisable to adopt, in order to bring his people under due subjection, he binds himself not to destroy the town of Cape Coast, nor will he allow a gun to be fired in the town, or suffer his troops to commit any act of hostility or depredation therein on the inhabitants or on their property; and in particular as regards the white part of the population, to say all the free merchants and traders, he guarantees to them not only full security of person and property, but also full protection in case of need. Moreover, the king will not suffer his difference with the Cape Coast people to interfere with his plans for the promotion and extension of the commerce between the interior and the British settlements on the sea coast, which he promises shall be immediately restored.*

3d. (Not granted.) The King of Ashantee agrees to permit and promises to encourage the establishment of schools at Doonqua, for the religious instruction of his people, and the king, moreover, guarantees perfect security and protection there to any English merchant or others of his Britannic Majesty's subjects in person and effects.

4th. The King of Ashantee pledges himself for the security and protection in person and property, to missionaries or others, being subjects of his Britannic Majesty, who may wish to establish themselves in any part of his territory for the purpose of propagating the Christian religion; and the king hereby cordially invites to his country such well-disposed men.

Given under our hands and seals at the King's Palace at the capital of Ashantee, this twenty-third day of March, in the year of our Lord, 1820, and in the fifty-ninth year of the reign of His Majesty George III. &c. &c. &c.

The mark of ⋈ SAII TOOTO QUAMINA.

In the presence of

(Signed) BENJAMIN SALMON. JOSEPH DUPUIS.
FRANCIS COLLINS.
DAVID MILL GRAVES.

* The Articles No. 1 and 2 of the Supplementary Treaty, were inserted at the particular request of the King of Ashantee, to shew, as he said, without disguise, his friendship for white men, and, at the same time, his determined policy as regarded the people of Cape Coast. Originally this monarch intended to have written a letter to the King of England, containing sentiments to this effect; but changing his intention after the general treaty had been signed, he desired his ambassadors to explain his sentiments at the British court as they are here recorded. The propriety of writing them down in a treaty, he affirmed, was manifest, as the Governor and white men would know his immutable policy and the public sentiments of his captains.

GEOGRAPHICAL DOCUMENTS.

For the convenience of investigation, it has been deemed requisite to separate from the body of the work the materials which give authority to the geography as depicted in the maps, and described more fully in the sections of Wangara and Soudan. The most essential among a voluminous packet of MSS. are submitted in their native character (the Arabic) affording thereby all the facility the author can give to the more acute researches of the learned in oriental literature. These, together with some others, which are too bulky, or too vaguely written, and tortured with repetitions to admit of an insertion in their native garb, were composed chiefly by those Moslems, whose names are mentioned in the work, and who corroborated many or most of their statements by the authority of a variety of travelling guides and directions, such as are commonly used by the caravans of the north, and by these people also in their journies to and from the kingdoms of the Niger.

The description they gave of the courses of the rivers, of the positions of lakes and other natural objects, of their bearing, distance, &c. from Coomassy, or other inland city, was equally supported by the testimony of the African road books and manuscripts, although the names of some places, which may be found in the maps, are not to be traced in those MSS. which I have considered of importance to submit in their foreign characters.

No. 4.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذه جعل القلم لنا كلام متكلم وجعل قرطاس لنا رسولا مرسلا بلغه
الي بلد مكان الي مكان وطر الي وطر هذ قرطاس تعرف طريق غُنْجا سَلْغ اسم البلد يوم الخروج سلغ دنغ يَنوم
يوم خرج دَنغ كَنيَاشي يوم خرج كَنيَاشي كَدَنْقي يوم خرج كَدَنْقي كَبَاوَت : يوم خرج كَبَاوَت كَنجس
: يوم خرج كَنجس الي خلع ليس بلد يوم خرج خلع تونوم يوم خرج فيه بحر بينهما ويجوز الي زنكما
: يوم خرج زنكما جَبْدَغ يوم خرج بلدجَبْدَغ اي ليس بلد خلع يوم خرج في بلد كَنو اذه خرج كَنو
ليس بلد حتي ثلاث ايام وهو موضع جبل كثير ثم خرج الي بلد غفل يوم خرج غفل الي بلد ارجو يوم
خرج ارجو الي بلد مَتم اي اسع بلد يوم خرج متم يراكو يوم خرج يراكو الي بلد دَغ وهو قرية الكبير يوم
خرج دَغ الي بلد دَنكن يدخل فه خلع ليس بلد حتي ثلاث ايام ثم دخل الي بلد يسمي سَلمو ايوم
خرج سَلمو جَنبدَ ايوم خرج جَنبدو الي صسوا اي بحر صغير يوم خرج صسوا كرر يوم خرج كرر الي بلد
كوك يوم خرج كوك مكراري يوم خرج مكراري الي بلد نك وهو قرية عظيمة يوم خرج نك رغ
يوم خرج رغ قطع الغلبي الي بلد مكبرا يوم خرج مكبرا سابن سارا يوم خرج سابن سارا ور يوم خرج
ور شابندیا يوم خرج شابندیا رع يوم خرج رع غذ يوم خرج غذ دوش يوم خرج دوش

كَنْفَ يوم خرج كنف وَادّ يوم خرج واد بَتَكُوا ليس بلد ومن بتكوا كَدَرْكَ ليس بلد ومن كَدَرْكَ شَلّ يوم خرج شَلّ الي غَسْغَس واما بحر كبير ليس مثله في بلدنا المسما كُورَا يوم خوج غسغس يدخل في قرية يَاوَري قرية عظيمة ومن ياوري الي كُنْبَاش ستة ايام ومن كنباش الي بلد غرنت خمسة ايام ومن غرنت الي بلد يَنْدُوتْ خمسة ايام ومر يَنْدُوتْ الي بلد كثين سبعة ايام هذا بلد كثين قرية عظيمة وهو راس حَوْس : ومن حَوْس الي فِرزَان اربعين ايام ومن بلد فرزان الي بَلَدْ مَصَرْ اربعين ايام ومن بلد مصر الي طُونسي ثلاثين ايام من بلد طونس الي مَكَةَ اثناعشر ايام ومن مكة الي بيت الله اربعين ايام ليلا والنهار وهو وسط الدنيا ومن بلد مدينة الي شَامْ عشرون يوم ليلا والنهار ومر شام الي بيت المقدس عشرون أيام هنا جبل فيه اسمه طور سينا وعلي هذه جبل كلام الله النبي موسي عليه السلام وهو قبر النبي موسي عليه السلام سمعنا اخري علي جبل طور سينا وهو قبر النبي ادم عليه السلام واما جبل خمسة اختارا سينا عزوجل واها اول هن جبل طور سينا وجبل مكة وجبل بيت المقدس وجبل المدينة وجبل شام وهذاروي عن اي رسول الله صلي الله عليه وسلام في سيدنا نصراني ان انما يعلم شي واملاء هذه الورقة الي صَوْم حبيب شي وصلي الله علي نبي بعده امين

TRANSLATION OF No. 4.

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate, &c. &c. This is a direction from country to country, &c. taking the departure from Salgha, the chief city of Ghunja.

From Salgha in one day to Dangho, from Dangho, through Yanomo, to Kanyasha one day; from Kanyasha in one day to Kadanki, and from Kadanki to Cabouto in one day; from Cabouto one day to Konjasi. After leaving Konjasi, you enter a small wilderness leading through Tonouma. One journey more leads to a little river, beyond which is Zonkoma.* From Zonkoma to Jadogho one day, and then a wilderness over which you proceed to Keno one day. From Keno you must travel three days over a great range of mountains, which will convey you to Ghofil. From Ghofil in one day to Arjo, from Arjo (over the little river Komba) in one day to Motom. From Motom (over mountains) three days to Yarako. From Yarako to Zogho, it is one journey: Zogho is a great city. From Dagho to Dankon, one day, and the road then leads through a forest of three journies, to a country called Salamo. From Salamo proceed on to Jambodo (a long journey) and from Jambodo to Sooso, one journey, where there is a small river بحر صغير

* This river is by some called the Komashar, and is said to fall into the great river of Dahomy—the Lagos.

From Sobso it is one long journey to Corery, and from Corery travel on to Kooka (on the Ghulby.) From Kooka to Makrara (one day.) From Makrara, in one day, you will arrive at Nikky, which is a very large city, and from Nikky in one day to Rougha, and from thence (over the Ghulby) to Makaba. From Makaba to Sabonsara, one day, and from Sabonsara to Wory, one day. From Wory through Snabendia to Roa, and from Roa to Ghado. From Ghado in one day to Doshi, from Doshi to Confi and from thence to Wado. After leaving Wado you enter the country of Batako, which is a district so named (very mountainous.) From thence to Sholo it is one day, and from Sholo to Ghasaghasa one day more, where there is a great sea or river, the like of which is no where to be found: it is called Koara كورا From Ghasaghasa (cross over the Koara) and in one day you will reach the city of Youry, which is a very great city.

From Youry to the country of Konbash, it is seven days' journey. From Konbash to the country of Gharanti, it is five days more; from thence to Yandoso it is also five days, and from Yandoto to Kassina is seven journies. Kassina is a mighty city, the metropolis (head) of Haoussa.

In travelling from Haoussa (in the high northern road to Egypt and the Holyland) proceed to Ferjan Fezzan, which is a journey of forty days; from Ferjan to Masser (perhaps the confines of Egypt) it is forty days more; and to Toonasa thirty days. From Toonassa to Mecca is twelve* days. From Mecca to the Holy City Shamor (Syria) it is forty hard journies: this country stands in the centre of the world. From Medina to Syria it is twenty full journies, and from Syria to Jerusalem is twenty more.

In this land is the mountain Tor, of Sinai, on the summit of which God conversed with the Prophet Moses,† upon whom be peace, &c. and he was entombed therein. The peace of God, &c.‡

* The author of this MS. seems to have made a slip of the pen in the description of the distance between Tunis and Mecca; or, which is very probable, he intended to have written the name of some other city bearing a relation in sound to that of Tunis. The words, however, are من بلد طونس الي مكة اثناعشر ايام as they are translated.

† There exists a current tradition resting upon the authority of the chapter of the Koran, intitled Al Araf, that when the Almighty divested himself of the awful attributes of his omnipotence, which none of mortal race could look upon and live, he appointed his servant Moses to meet him near a certain mountain called Al Zabbar. But the Prophet doubtful if he was in the presence of his Creator, cried out, "O Lord! shew me thy glory that I may behold thee." To which the Almighty answered, thou shalt not in any wise behold me; but look at the mountain, and if it is still rooted in its place, then, indeed, thou shalt see my glory. Moses turned his head in that direction, as the attributes of Divine Majesty blazed on the mountain, and reduced it to dust, throwing the Prophet also into a deep swoon.

‡ The concluding parts of the MSS. which are chiefly of a religious character, coupled, moreover, with a description of mountains known to my informers, I have not deemed it necessary to translate, as the neighbourhoods of Egypt and Syria may be better known to the European than the tropical African in the west.

And this is a direction to the country of the Prophet of God, on whom be peace, &c. for the service of our friend (master) the Christian, &c. written by his loving friend Souma, and now pray to God, &c.—Amen.* This is termed the main eastern road.

No. 5.

This relates to the direct route from Ashantee (Coomassy) to Salgha, a journey of fifteen days. Its writer was a native of Ghunjah, whose sovereign had granted him permission to visit the Court of Ashantee. He had been several times to Haoussa, &c. as also to Dahomy and Benin in the east.

الحمد لله الذه جعل القلم لنا لسانا وجعل قرطاس لنا رسولا مكان الي مكان البلد الي البلد وطر الي وطرثم. خرج من بلد كماسي الي بلد سلغ من يوم خرج كماسي الي جمقسي : انتو : دمكاي : اكرفرم : اكيا اسم جبل فيه البلد : منبن : دنكني : ادجاني : اجورا : امتني : اكوا : بتودا : اتبابوا : يبعتي وفيه الماء الكبير اسم الماء بورو : كلاه : سكنم : ياجي : وفيه البحر كثير اسود البحر : بابصوا اسم البر الماء : خرج كماسي الي سلغ ايام انتهن :

TRANSLATION OF No. 5.

Glory be unto God, for the use of speech, the knowledge of writing, &c. This is a direction for travelling, &c.† by the route from Coomassy to Salgha. Leaving Coomassy, you arrive the first day at Jamakasi, the second at Antoa, the third at Damoka, the fourth at Akoroforom, the fifth you enter Akeyah, which is the name of a mountainous country; then to Manbon, and from Manbon to Dinkeny; then to Adijani, and Ajora, Amatini, and Akokoa (each one day.) From Akokoa to Batoda, and from thence to Yobati, in which there is a large water or lake (وفيه الماء الكبير) and the name of the lake is Bouro. Then to Coulan and Sakenim and Yaji. In the last named country is a large

* There existed a feeling of emulation among the followers of Mohammed, to anticipate any conjecture I might form that they were deficient in a knowledge of their scriptures, and of the land sacred to the memory of the Prophets Shouma, who never travelled to the northward of the kingdom of Haoussa; but as he did not wish to be thought inferior to others who were more intimately acquainted with the countries he attempted to describe, beyond the Koara, he probably wrote the supplementary part from his gleanings among the Haoussa Moslems, established in Coomassy.

† The preliminary and some superfluous parts of the MS. it is conceived may be generally omitted.

river *sea* (بحر كثير) the name of which is Aswada (the black river) and the name of the land on the banks of the river is Babosoo. This is the end of the journey to Salgha (for that city is on the opposite bank of the river.")

The subsequent part of the manuscript falls next under consideration. It runs as follows :—

No. 6.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا اسم البلد سلغ ومن سلغ الي كاكشي : ذفت : تور : ينسلا : بتربي : يشيلي : دغني وبيا : قرساغ جاكاليشي ساكويا : كالتغ : بوغر : بتلي غلبي اسم الماء كوقي : ددره كنغب ماغ : البلد كبير سلطان فيه اسم سلطان مرباشاقي اسم قرية غرما : قينا غ : تادي : باغ غنظر : اسم الماء غلبي : ذبغ : دتكروي : بامن اسم البلد كبير اسم سلطان البلد ذفر : دتقي غلبي كنذغ الماء كبير : يانغذي : ماجور : كابغ : سبا و بتقتي : يتنا : كت : قيقيدي : تنتث : تيدذيما : دق جتاو : ذغرتر : ناتاغ : ماكرا اسم لماء فيه البلد : كنفين ذغ كنبار : غورا الماء كثير : غاتاغ : فوغ : توكاني باقرن : فاغ اسم جبل فيه البلد كونكا : مور : برني كب اسم سلطن محمد : غلبي كنباج كاعادوا : رغا : فكار غاشيي فوي : رقينا : كتتر : مرنا : كاندوش اسم البلد اتني اسم سوو كبير : كاسوي تلت اسم سوو فيه الماء كثير برم ماغم اسم سلطان باوي جرم : كمي : مرمي الب : برني كسينا برني البلد كثير البلد هوسي : يوم اخرج كسينا الي البلد اذبن اربعين يوما ومن بلد اذبن الي بلد فرجن اربعين يوما يوم خرج فرجن الي بلد مصر اربعين يوما يوم خرج مصر الي بلد مكة عشرين يوما ليلا والنهار من مكة الي المدينة رسول الله صلي الله عليه وسلم عشرة يام ليلا ونهار يوم خرج المدينة الي عراو عشرة يوما ليلا والنهار من يوم خرج عراو الي بيت المقدس عشرة ايام ليلا والنهار من يوم خرج بيت المقدس الي شام عشرة ايام ليلا والنهاري : شام كاربابا السما في الشام انتهن كلام اسم البلداي انتهن اسم المكاتبا محمد كامعتي المقلب كنتوما وما صاحبه ابوبكر ثوري ا

TRANSLATION OF No. 6. (TO THE GHULBY AT MAGHO.)

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. This is a direction (by the route NNE.) &c. from Salgha to the interior countries. Salgha to Kakashi then Dafo, Touro, Yansala, Betareby, Yashely, Deghony, Wabeya, Keresago, Jakolishi, Sakoya, Coultegha, Boughori, Batili to the river Ghulbi at Coky, (or which is the name of the water of Kook)

(Proceed on) to Dedery, Conghobo, and then Magho, which is a large kingdom or country governed by a Sultan whose name is Mariba Sheky; the name of his capital city is Ghoroma, (on the other side the river.) Kenagha (is next, and then) Tady, Balogho, Andari, where the name of the water is still the Ghulby; Zabogho, Datokoro, Baman,—which is the name of a large country, governed by a sultan called Zafory Detaki. The river Ghulby next, and then to a very large water (a lake) called Konzagha; Yangodi, Majori, and Kobogho, (are all on the road which leads on to the mountains called Fagh) in the kingdom of Wawa.

(The towns in succession) from the Konzagha lake are Sabawa, Batikati, Etana, Kati, Kikidi, Tentati, Tedadema, Dako, Jata, Zaghore Touri, Natagho, and Makoro:—this is the name of a lake or great water standing in the country; Confi, Digho, Cabar, Ghoro; where the water is very broad: Ghatagha, Fougha, Tokani, Bakoridi, and Fagh, which is the name of the mountains in this country. Then through Conka, to the kingdom of Maury; from Maury to Berini, Cabi. The name of the sultan (of Maury) is Mohammed. Then (over the) Ghulbi, Kanbaja, (called also Shaderbah,) to Kadoa. Then (by land) to Rago, Fakaro, Ghoshi, Fawa, Rekena, Kototori, Marina. Kandashi is the name of this country—and great Souy is the name of the next. There is also another place called Souy, where the water is very large, and bears the name of Bouromi Maghami. The name of the sultan is Bawa Jouromi. Then Komi, Moromalabo, Barni, (and lastly) Kassina. This is a very large country, for it is Haoussa.

Leaving Kassina (for the north) you will travel on to Azban (Azben) in forty days, and from Azban to Ferjan (Fezzan) it is forty journies more. Leaving Ferjan you will arrive in forty days at Egypt; and from Egypt to Mecca it is twenty journies, hard travelling (literally night and day). From Mecca (back) to Medina, the city of the Apostle, with peace, prayer, &c. &c. it is ten days hard travelling. Leaving Medina you will arrive at Arou in ten days more, at the same pace; from Arou to Jerusalem, it is ten journies, and from Jerusalem to Shem it is also ten journies. This land is nigh unto Heaven, and here is the finish.

The name of the writer is Mohammed Camati, alias* (i. e. as he is called by the Pagans) Cantoma, in company with his friend Aboubecr Touria, (or Ben Touri.)

* This manuscript is the copy from another original document, which the author preserved with great care to serve him as a travelling guide by the least fatiguing route to Arabia, where he intended to go on a pilgrimage as soon as the king granted him permission, or that he could arrange his affairs satisfactorily.

Another manuscript, written by a Mohammedan chief, who had been many years established (as a courtier and trader) at Ashantee, will be perused with interest, as its supplement is a route to the Jolliba at Sego and Jinnie. The author was a native of Ghomba, in Dagombah; he was the celebrated Bashaw, commonly called Sheikh or Alkaid Baba—a name which he derived from his advanced age. During his youthful days he had travelled through many kingdoms in the East; yet he had never been either at Timbuctoo or Jinnie.

The author had resided some time at the courts of Zogho, Bargho, Magho, and Kambah. The Joliba he

No. 7.

الحمد لله وحده ذالك باب الي المكرم حبيبه هو يقول لنا سعلتني بخبر مسير اشنتي الي بلد سلغ خمسة عشر يوما وسلغ الي بلد دغمب ياندي ستة ايام ومن ياندي الي بلدظغ ومن ظغ الي كلنغ ثمانية ايام وعشرة ايام يقول القريه ملكه نك ومن نك الي كورا ثلاثة عسرايام ومن كورا الي ياور يوم واحد ومن ياور ثلاثين يوما ومن غباغ الي موسي سبع ايام ومن موسي الي كسغ اربع ايام ومن كسغ الي سفن ثماني ايام ومن سفن الي جني تمانيه ايام *

TRANSLATION OF No. 7.

Glory be unto God in unity. This chapter (of knowledge) is directed to the esteemed and beloved friend who solicited us to furnish him with information for travelling, (through this country,) &c.

From Ashantee first to the country of Salgha, which is fifteen journies. From Salgha to the country of Dagomba, i. e. Yandi, (the capital city) which is six days. From Yandi to the country of Zogho, and from Zogho to that of Killinga, which (together) make a journey of eighteen days. The capital city (of Killinga) belonging to the king, is called Nikky. From Nikky to the river Koara it is thirteen journies more, and from the Koara to Youry it is but a single day. From Youry (back) to Ghobagho it is thirty days; from Ghobagho to Mousee it is seven days; from Mousee to Kasogho it is four days. From Kasogho to Safany it is eight days, and from Safany to Jany (or Jinnie) it is eight days more.

always spoke of as a river distinct from the Koara, being separated by a sea or lake, which he sometimes called Bahar Ghimbala, and at others Bahar Deby, or Zeby. The Joliba he conceived to be inferior, by far, in dimensions, as well as in the multitude of lakes and large populous islands the Koara abounds with.

* Contrary to what Mr. Bowdich has insinuated, I did not meet with the slightest interruption, neither was I annoyed by suspicious glances during my geographical researches in the society of the north eastern Moslems. The king and his ministers were early apprised of the intimacy that existed, and of our daily occupation; but so far was he from resenting the familiarity, that it gave him great pleasure, and which he evinced by making it, from time to time, a topic of conversation, in which he would frequently talk of neighbouring kingdoms; of Dahomy, Sarem, Dagomba, &c. At the same time it must be admitted, that the king or his ministers were tacitly averse to an intimacy with the Kong, Ghofan, and Manding Moslems, who were taken in arms against him during the last Bontoko war: yet the king, himself, never even hinted at the jealousy which it was but natural for him to feel on the occasion.

This, which is the preliminary part of the manuscript, exhibits the lines of communication between Lower Guinea and the districts of Haoussa, Fillany, &c. The supplementary part is as follows:

No. 8.

ومن هناكماسن الي جمكاس ومن جمكاس الي تتوم ومن تتوم الي كيكور الي ينس الي سكدو ماسن اسم البلد الي دنكر كنتي الي قرنسح الي بوبي الي كرحم الي كنتنو الي كاكا الي كرندو الي دوا الي صحرا اتلا بلا بيت بحرفيه الي تري الي غفن بلدمسلمون ومن غرفن الي ولد سلطان بلدة الي لنكنتر الي كتر الي بتنتاس الي فرغ دبي الي صولب الي غبيغ الي دنكير الي بنغ الي بعس الي كبر الي يعب الي يجيغ الي بدم الي كنجخ الي بغي الي صيلي الي كبر الي كاي الي فرا الي صمب الي برم جزايرابحر الي كو الي قلمب الي كيني الي البلد بفر الي شيوغ الي سفن بلد كبير فيه الجامع الي ننو الي كر الي برد الي در الي كرني الي بحر الي قدي الي سون الي فير الي سيدنكرا الي فلنك الي بلد باء بلد مسلم ومن باء الي كنبر الي تسليم الفقية صاحب الحرمة ولو الله الي نم دغ الي طم يعما الي جني بلد كبير المسلمون الي البحر في السفينة خمسة عشر ايام وفي سفر في البر ثلاثين يوم الي طغبوط الي حج بلد ملح كالجرومن البحر طاح في الطريق الي مصر والي البحر كبير الي مصر

TRANSLATION OF No. 8.

Moreover, from hence—Coomassy, to Jamacasi, from Jamacasi to Tataroom, and from Tataroom to Kikiwhari. From Kikiwhari to Enaso, and to Sakado, which is the (chief city of) the country called Massy. (From Sakado) to Donkori, to Conta, and from thence to Coransah. From Coransah to Boubin, to Kerahem, to Kantano to Kaka, to Caranda to Dawa, and the Desert—where there is no resting place, and through which the river runs* بحرفيه. When you get through it (the Desert, which is two days journey from N. to S.) you will arrive at Ghofan, a country of the Moslems. And from Ghofan to the country of the King's Son, and to Lankantera. From thence through Katari to Botintasi, and Daboya. From Daboya proceed to Solaba, and (or through) Ghobagho. From Ghobagho to Dankairy,

* This is the Bahar Aswada, as it is called by the Moslems: the other name by which it is distinguished by the Idolators is Adirrai.

to Bonough to Bouasa, to Cabari to Yaâba, Ejagho to Baddim, to Kanjakha to Baghi, to Sela to Kobar, to Kaii—or Karey—to Foura, to Soumbo and Bourma, which is an island in the river (جزاير البحر) From Bourma to Kou, to Calambi to Couini, to Baforo to Shougho (Sego) in Safani. This (last named place) is a large country, with churches (mosques) in it. From Safani to Nouno, to Karou to Bouradi, to Dorra to Kerba, to the river (again) to Kooda to Soonore, to Fee to Feer, to Sadankera to Felanki, to Baâ, a country of Moslems. And from Baâ, and Conbori, to Taslima,* the country of holy (religion) resignation and learning (which is governed by a chief (of the family) sacred to God's service, &c. From Taslima to Noumodogho, to Toumayama to Jennie, which is a large country of Moslems.

From Jennie to the sea, whereon ships sail (it is a journey of) fifteen days by water, and then by land thirty days more until you get afterwards to Jekhy, a salinous, rocky, or stony country: and from these rocks you will fall in the direct track for Egypt, whose sea is the great sea, &c. †

The following MS. is a route by the same author, from Jennie to Bornou:

* Whatever may be the prevailing opinion concerning the tribes and nations of interior Ethiopia, it is not to be doubted that many powerful states and principalities are exclusively Mohammedan; indeed, from such accounts as are deserving of credit, it appears that the proportion of Moslems is nearly upon a par with the idolatrous population, between the Aswada and the Koara Rivers, on the Haoussa road. In Ghunja, beyond the Aswada or Volta, excluding Dahomy and its tributary states, the Moslems are supposed to exceed in numbers the idolaters. In Dagomba, Ghomba, Zogho, Kambah, and Kook, they are very numerous: In Bargho and Killinga they enjoy independent governments, reaching even to the banks of the Koara.

† The author candidly admitted his incompetence to give any intimate description of the countries eastward of Bornou, as his geographical knowledge was limited to the capital of that empire; but he professed capacity to describe with accuracy the interior features of the continent as far as the Koara, both geographically and politically. In the north and west he maintained that the creed of the Prophet had not made as much progress as in central Africa, and the states eastward of Dagomba and Killinga: and this he accounted for in a manner by no means unsatisfactory. The former regions, he said, beyond Ghobagho, were for the most part either mountainous or hilly, and were beside clothed in impenetrable forests and thickets, from whence the natives (who, in certain districts were more barbarous than the Ashantees,) were able to oppose the Moslem arms successfully, where cavalry, besides being scarce, could not act: whereas the latter districts being champaign land, and the Arabian horse and camel (from having been early introduced there) being abundant, the Moslem princes, tributaries of Bornou on the south of Koara, reduced nation after nation, compelling some the most assailable, to renounce idolatry, and all to pay tribute; which, like the Arabs, they collect by flying camps, and large squadrons of horse and camel. The King of Ashantee, it was added, owed his safety to the same causes, added to a maritime intercourse by which he obtained those scarce articles, powder and guns.

No. 9.

بلد الفاينء الي نكري الفاين الي تاركسص دنسو الي سكم ومن سكم الي ابوغي فوم ومر بوغي فوم الي
اءتي كثيرة الماء ومن اءتي قطع البحر الى الحجر كبيرومن الحجر الي كنكونس ومن كنكونس الي
الي اءهنكنت ومن هنكنت الي اءدنكسض قطع البحرتلك اليوم الي دد ومن دد الي كمن ومن
كمن الي حنفوكي الن الجبل الكبير الي الصحراء الي اكوم بلد سل طن سلطان الكبير ومن ذالك اليوم
صكريي الي صحرا الي فون ومن فون الي تمي الي تغوا ومن تغوا الي وض صرخ الي بيط فيه برني

TRANSLATION OF No. 9.

First, the country of Alfine; and from Alfine to Casou Dousou, and then to Sakam, and from Sakam to Boghifom, from Boghifom to Aty or Aowati, where the water (of the river) is very great. From Aowati, cross the river, (the Koara) and land at the large rocks; from whence proceed on to Kankawansa, and from Kankawansa to Henkonta. From Henkonta to Dankasado (again) cross a river, (sea) and rest the day at Dody. From Dody to Kamana, and from Kamana to Honafokon; and then to a great range of mountains, on the other side of which is the Desert. The next place is Akom, the country of the king of kings بلد سلطن سلطن الكبير (meaning the sultan of Bornou.) Then Sokori, then the Desert, and Foony. And from Foony to Tama, Tegho, Woso or Wodo, and Bornou.

The following MS. describing the journey to Kassina, was written by a native of that country, but recently arrived at Coomassy on a trading speculation from the former city: like the MS. No. 3, it leads to Magho on the Ghulby, and from thence eastward along its shores.

No. 10.

الحمد لله السلام عليكن &c. : جماكاسي : ماجوكوسي : ادجن : اماتني : اتابوبو : بنايي : ياجي
: سلاغي : بوكوكي ذافوا : دوروا ينسلا : كوبي : لاجا : يندي : كردس ساكوغوا باكي غلوبي داج
: تودو : كوكوجو : ماغو : تاده : بالغو : فضلي : ذابغا : ينقا : يرمس : كودبيي : ينبوتي :
طاغو : غوغي : فادسك دنسركي : كيا : دغابو : عثقالي : علوماغو : داوا : لاغامن : كمسي :
داباغو : سامي : غلبي : معار : روغا : تودو : باكين كوراء : ردبا : بليدء : دوس روغا : داوا : فوغا :
كوقوبو : دهبي داج كوك كابي غلبي : كلابين : سلا : ساغار : دوروا : بوكور : كمسي : غدو ذاماج :
سار : نوفوا : دورع : ماركي روما : ميوا برن كاسين

TRANSLATION OF No. 10.

Glory be unto God, and peace unto you, &c. (The places) are Jamakasi, Majokoasi, Adijani, Amateny, Ataboba, Banaa. Then Yajy and Salgha. From Salgha to Bokoky, Zafo, Dorowa, Yansala, Coobeya, Laja, and then Yandi. From Yandi to Cardosi, Sakogho, Baki, and (the next journey is to) the river Ghulbi. From the Ghulbi (go to) Dajy, Todoge, Kokojo to Magho; and from thence to Tady, Balagho, Fadaly, Dahegha, Yanka, Yarmesy, Kodeba, Yanboti, Tagho, Ghogha, Fadeseka, Dansareka, Caya, Daghabo, Atkali, Alomagho, Dawa, Lagamana, Komosy, Dabakou, Sameya, Alomoan, Maury, Rougha, Todo, and then (you are on the banks of the) Koara (the Koara Rafa.) Then Redaba, Beledy, Dosyrouga, Doua, Fougha, Kotobo, Deby, Dajy, Kooka, Cabi, and then the river Ghulbi again. From thence to Kalabaina, Sala, Saghara, Droo, Bokory, Komsi, Ghado, Damaji, Sara, Nofawa (the country of Niffy) Darâa, Mariki, Rouma, Mayo, Berini, (and lastly) Kassina.

The following is a sketch from a native chart, describing distance, &c. It was taken from an original in the possession of a man named Mohammed Shallum, al Marouy, a native of Maroa, who travelled in company with the Sheriffe Brahim, and was left in Ghunja when that prince departed.*

No. 11.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم مسهلة سفر من بلد حوسا يوري الي قرية برنو يقاله برني علي البحر كورا ومن برنو الي البحر شادي والبحر نيل : ومن يوري الي كسينا خمسه وعسر يوما ومن كسين الي قرية كن تسع يوما ومن قرية كن الي قرية برنواشهر واما سلطان برنوهو سلطان دنيا كلهم لامثله في الدنيا ومن برنو الي البحر يقاله شرثلثين يوما ومن شر الي البحر يقال له شدي اربعة ايام واماكبير بحر شاد انه كورايدخل فيه ومن شاد الي فرسبعة ايام ومن فر الي وداي خمس ايام ومن وداي الي قرية مصر خمسين يوم وثلاث يوما ومن مصر الي قرية المدينا ومكة اربعين يوما ليلا والنهار وفيه بيت الله وهو وسطا دنيا ومن مكة الي قرية مدينة عشر يوما ليلا والنهر ومن قرية المدينة الي قرية شام عشرين يوما ومن شام الي بيت المقدس عشر يوما وفيه جبل اسمه طورسينيي وعلي راس هذاجبل كلام الله لموس وتحت جبل طورسينيي فقبر موسي

* The author, who called himself El Hadge ben Saido, was the only man amongst my associates who had performed the pilgrimage; and consequently the only one of the party who enjoyed the title of Hadge. His

TRANSLATION OF No. 11.

In the name of God, the merciful, &c. This is a direction for travelling from Haoussa (the kingdom of) Youry to the city of Bornou, called Berini, by water upon the Koara, and from Bornou to the sea Shady and the sea Nile.

From Youry to Kassina, it is fifteen days. From Kassina to the city of Kano, nine days. From Kano to the city of Bornou it is one month;—and the sultan of this country, whose equal exists nowhere else, governs all the land. Then from Bornou to the sea called Shary, it is thirty days; and from Shary to the sea called Shady it is four days. The Shady is a large sea because the Koara runs into it. From the Shady to Foor it is seven days, and from Foor to Wady five days more. Then from Wady to the city of Egypt, (Masser or Cairo) it is fifty-three days; from Cairo to Medina and Mecca it is forty days hard travelling. The Temple of God stands in it, (the Caaba) and the city itself stands in the middle of the world. From Mecca to the city of Medina it is ten days hard travelling; and from Medina to the capital of Syria (Damascus) it is twenty days, from whence (the city of Shem) to the city of Jerusalem it is ten days, and the mountain called Tor of Sinai* is in it, upon the top of which God conversed with the Prophet Moses, and the mountain Tor of Sinai fell and buried Moses.

Another chart or manuscript in the possession of this man was called مسيلة سفرمن بلد عنجا الي حوسا ومن خرج من قرية سلطان حتا يبيت علي البحركوار بحرليس مثله "A travelling guide from the country of Ghunja to that of Haoussa, from the time you leave the city of the king (Coomassy) until you alight upon the banks of the sea called Koara:—a sea (river) whose equal no where exists." It will be unnecessary, however, to insert this document as it deviates but little from MS. No. 1, than which, in regard to time, and distance, it is less precise.

education, however, was but an imperfect one, and his writing, like that of some others, betrays the fact. This man was particularly communicative, and anxious, as he affirmed, that I should know his country, (Houssa) which was of more importance in every shape than Ghunja and Dagombah put together.

* The author is evidently under a mistake in placing the mountain Tor, or Sinai, in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, from which it is distant ten journies south. Another circumstance worthy of notice is, that he places Wady to the eastward, or northward and eastward of Foor: i. e. in the journey to Egypt from Ghunja, the traveller, as he describes, must necessarily traverse Foor, or Dar Foor, before he enters Wady, called also Dar Wady.

The author of this work, who is also the editor and translator of the Arabic it contains, deems it right to announce to the oriental scholar, that some trifling errors have intruded themselves amongst the characters of that language which precede the Appendix:—an elucidation however may be briefly given. There is a distinction between the formations of oriental and occidental Arabic; and notwithstanding the characters of both are nearly the same, the difference trifling as it is in other respects— ڤ is material as regards the letters ڤ and ق which the African Arabs, and the natives of that Continent universally write with single dots; the former at bottom, the latter at top. The author consequently, to whom, from custom, the occidental style is most familiar had already commenced the work of publication, and had proceeded in his corrections nearly to the extent described before he discovered that no such type as an occidental one could be procured. For ڤ therefore it will be necessary in the part foregoing the Appendix to read ق

THE END.

ERRATA.

INTRODUCTION.

Page xix. lines 10 and 11, for "report of the king's death did lose ground," read, did not lose ground.
—— xxiv. line 1, for "ong," read long.
—— xxv. lines 25 and 26, for "as if sensible last," read, as if sensible at last.
—— xxxvii. line 19, omitted direction;—*To the Governor and Council.*

JOURNAL.

Page 18. lines 17 and 18, for "Mimosa Scandriensis," read Bauhinea Scandens.
—— 64. line 15, for "Benjamin," read Benzoin.
—— 73. in the note, for "العلمير," read العلمين
—— 77. line 4, for "lions," read loins.
—— 123. line 24, the asterisk at line 24, following "told me," should fall at line 25, following Annamaboc.
—— 177. line 4, for "وجورج" read جورج

WANGARA.

Page xxiv. line 6, for "Kambah," read Komba.
—— xxxiii. —— The marks of reference to the notes at the bottom of the page should be reversed thus, No. 1, the *, No. 2, the †.
—— xxxvii. line 13, for "the capital," read their capital.
—— lvii. note, line 6, for "in the neighbourhood of Jaccorary," read, and in the neighbourhood of Taccorary.

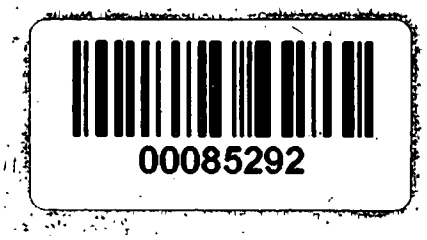
SOUDAN.

Page lxxx. line 28, for "Soudan Dakhiala," read Soudan Dakhlata.
—— lxxxix. line 6, for "Holagul," read Holagu.
—— xci. line 29, for "east of the Formosa," read wset, &c.
—— xciv. line 12, for "Joclimani," read Soolimani.
—— xcv. line 17, for "Tastima," read Taslima.
—— xcvii. line 19, for "Takolshi," read Jakolshi.
—— xcviii. line 11, for "Kouzagha," read Konzagha.
—— —— line 24, for "Koubory," read Konbory.
—— xcix. line 18, for "Callio Makaro," read Makaro.
—— —— note, for "Vahar Kanbaja," read Bahar, &c.
—— c. line 1, for "Hanbaja," read Kanbaja.
—— ci. line 13, for "Kassima," read Kassina.
—— cii. line 13, for "south of the desert," read south of the Niger.
—— civ. line 28, latitude and longitude of Yandy redundant, having been recorded in Wangara.
—— cx. line 2, in the note, for, "Kakbara," read Rakbara.

APPENDIX.

Page cxxiv. line 7, of the Arabic, for "واسع," read اسم
—— cxxv. line 4, ditto for "ومرينديت," read &c. ومن
—— —— line 7, ditto for "ومرشام," read &c. ومن

The author, in apologising to the public for such a list of errata as the foregoing, begs to observe, that he was seized with a dangerous illness during the progress of the publication, which consequently deprived him of the advantage of correcting *some* of the proofs, daily, as they came from press. That by the great professional skill of his medical attendant, (Dr. Herbert of Grafton Street,) he was able, after the lapse of a fortnight, to attend to the task of correction; but too late to remedy the evil, particularly as regards the section "Soudan."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